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THE STAMP ACT IN BRITISH POLITICS

THE publication of the papers of George III.[1] is an appropriate occasion for reviewing the events attending the passage and repeal of the Stamp Act in order to show how the questions of the day were so involved that no issue was considered singly on its merits. The story ought to begin at the time when Bolingbroke and Pulteney joined forces and established the *Craftsman* in their attempt to drive Walpole from office. In the long struggle which followed, it became conventional to attack the "prime minister" as an unconstitutional official who kept himself in office by corrupting Parliament and dominating the king. The proposed remedy was to find a king who would resume his rightful place at the head of the government and take the lead in its reform. To provide support for such a king, it was necessary to arouse the people at large against the dominant ruling groups. For that purpose newspapers and pamphlets flowed steadily from the press. Frederick, Prince of Wales, willingly aided in this undertaking. At his death in 1750 one newspaper had to be discontinued and another reorganized. But a circle soon gathered about his widow and her son at Leicester House to carry on the work.

When the Duke of Newcastle succeeded Henry Pelham as head of the treasury in 1754, to avoid choosing between Henry Fox and William Pitt as leaders in the House of Commons, he tried the experiment of preferring neither. Pitt had come into office in 1746, changing from an opponent to a supporter of Pelham. He and Fox now began to make common cause against Newcastle, and the duke, unable to do without one or the other, favored Fox, though so ungraciously as not to win his confidence. But other questions pressed for consideration. In the course of the general election in 1754 a writer for the press observed that "in the ensuing Parliament there will be a far greater number of merchants and trading gentlemen than ever before appeared in the House of Commons".[2] William

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[1] Sir John W. Fortescue, *The Correspondence of King George III.*, 6 vols., 1927–1928.

[2] *Public Advertiser*, May 8, 1754.

Beckford, who with his brothers had a fortune in the West Indies, was a leader in this group. It was also evident from the newspapers that trouble was approaching between the French and British in America. A serial description of the extent and resources of the "British Empire in North America" concluded with the moral "Canada must be destroyed".[3] Braddock and Boscawen went on their precautionary errands, and, the day after Braddock's defeat, the newspaper most likely to reflect opinion in the City said, "We are apparently on the Eve of a War of a new kind, in which our Commerce is at stake. We have often fought for others, we are now to fight for ourselves; if we are victorious we shall reap the profits, if not—let us not suspect it".[4] Writers in the same paper explained the successes at first reported as due to the "great Vigour, Firmness, and Secrecy" with which the ministers were acting and to the fact that they were "attending to our own Business". The paper giving the first account of Braddock's defeat said in the paragraph immediately preceding:

> At present there is such a Spirit as has been rarely seen in this Nation; a Spirit which may enable an Administration to do whatever it wishes. . . . Not a Writer has criticized, not a Paper has questioned the Rectitude of our Counsels or of our Measures: our Friends rejoice, our Enemies grow Humble at this Unanimity.[5]

This spirit of unanimity and hostility to France was further promoted by a weekly established by the Beckfords, the first number appearing on August 9, 1755. Since it represented a London interest, this journal was shrewdly called the *Monitor; or, British Freeholder*; it soon became in a sense the organ of the war party in the City. Being more than a propaganda sheet for the war, it announced in the first number that the "liberties and privileges" of the English people were not "gifts of the princes, but original rights, and as much a part of the constitution as the prerogative and powers of the crown". The second number contained a platform of fifteen articles written by Richard Beckford. Among them were such items as "to engage in no foreign alliances when the interest of Britain is not immediately and essentially concerned"; "to assert the dominion of the sea by a large and well ordered navy; to place our chief dependence in such a navy"; "to cherish and support our colonies; those sinews of our naval strength, on which avowedly the very being of this kingdom depends; to define and settle the rights and privileges of the subjects residing in those colonies; to model them more agreeable to the system of liberty maintained in their mother country"; "to promote a fœderal union amongst the Northern Colonies in America; to govern them in so gentle a manner, as not to provoke them to cast off their allegiance". The paper interpreted the war as relating chiefly to America and as deserving support "till the last perfidious Frenchman be killed or driven away".[6]

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[3] *Public Advertiser*, Jan. 1, 1755. The concluding article contains a summary of the points made in the series.

[4] London *Evening Post*, July 10–12, 1755.

[5] London *Evening Post*, Aug. 5–7, 23–26, 1755. See also *ibid.*, July 31–Aug. 2, and *Whitehall Evening Post*, July 29–31, 1755.

The national unity easily survived Braddock's defeat, but was shattered by the treaty with Prussia, the use of German troops in England, and especially by the loss of Minorca. The Newcastle-Fox ministry retired in the storm. Pitt, who came in, was united by marriage with the influential Grenville family and affiliated, after he ceased to be paymaster, with Leicester House. He soon received support from Beckford and the City interests also. The ability of Lord Temple, the leader of the Grenvilles, is less appreciated by posterity than it was by his contemporaries. He was a man of importance as the heir of the estates and a part of the influence of Lord Cobham. He was one of the most effective propagandists of the time as well, and knew better the sources of political power than either his better-known brother or his still more famous brother-in-law, who both owed much to him and were long rivals for his favor.

The little time that this faction was in power was an interval of constant strife with Fox. His views were reflected in the *Test,* begun by Arthur Murphy on November 6, 1756. Supported by the *Monitor,* Owen Ruffhead took up the Grenvillian view in the *Con-Test,* November 23. Newcastle, having had the confidence of the king at election time and because of his family influence and his long continuance in office, held the decisive balance in Parliament. Finding that Fox in the national emergency would serve his country in a lucrative, subordinate office, while Pitt would not, the duke decided in favor of Pitt. The result was a union of all the respectable leaders in the administration, which restored national unity, since there was no influential voice to express discontent. Failures and extravagance were no longer criticized; every avenue of publicity was used to advertise the successes that naturally came to a united nation.[7]

The accession of George III. in 1760 meant that the day had come which was to realize the hopes of successive groups who had dreamed for generations of reforming the government. It could scarcely have come under less auspicious circumstances. Nevertheless, the young king and his mentor, Bute, moved so rapidly and with so sure an appreciation of the feelings of the people on whom they had to depend that they amazed and disconcerted the leaders then in the saddle. Realizing that it would be a mistake to oppose the patriotic fervor which animated the country, they capitalized it. Bolingbroke's *Idea of a Patriot King* was reprinted in the newspapers, but Bute relied more on giving attention to the circumstances of the time. In his first speech to the privy council the king called the war "bloody and expensive", a phrase reluctantly changed to "expensive but just and necessary" in the published version. A timely pamphlet, *Considerations on the Present German War,* emphasized the same point with the public. When the king appeared before Parliament, he boasted his British nativity as evidence of his affection for his people. Then he appealed to a deep-seated feeling among them by a proclamation in favor of "Piety and Virtue" and against "Vice, Profaneness, and Immorality". He resigned certain hereditary revenues, thus making the civil list more entirely a grant of Parliament. He agreed that the term and salary of the judges should be permanent during good behavior. If Bute was admitted to the cabinet, it was not of his seeking.

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[6] *Monitor,* Dec. 8, 1755.

[7] Earl of Ilchester [Giles Stephen Holland Fox-Strangways], *Henry Fox, First Lord Holland,* II. chs. XVIII.-XXII. Consult also files of the *Test, Con-Test, Monitor,* and other current papers.

When, in 1761, Pitt and Temple dissented from the views of the rest of their colleagues, desiring immediate war with Spain, Bute again demonstrated his ability as a politician. The skill with which he associated in the *Gazette* the announcement of Pitt's resignation, Lady Chatham's peerage, and a favorable letter from Spain, supported by other propaganda, destroyed for a moment Pitt's hold on the City. Beckford and Temple, who were absent when Pitt resigned, came to town and labored to regain the ground he had lost. Temple quit his office and persuaded a younger brother to do likewise, though George Grenville adhered to Bute. In the confusion, supporters of the ex-ministers had not known what to do.[8] Soon after

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[8] In Burke's opinion (*Annual Register,* 1761, p. 44) "The popular cause was worse sustained". Pitt's resignation was announced in the morning papers of October 7 (*e.g., Public Advertiser*), and reports were immediately circulated concerning rewards intended for him. London *Evening Post,* Oct. 8–10, gives evidence of public indignation; London *Chronicle* of even date said, "There is a report, which we cannot suppose true, but calculated to throw a damp on a certain lustre, that a certain Lady is to be made a Peeress, and to have a pension of £3000 per ann." The *Public Ledger,* Oct. 10, said: "We are informed that the Honourable Person whose retiring from Public Affairs is so much at present lamented hath refused the Offer of either Honours or Pension for himself or Family." In the same paper was news of Temple's resignation and Beckford's return to town. After the appearance of the *Gazette* a friendly writer began: "Mr. Pitt, who has been so long the Idol of the People is now perhaps in a fair way of becoming (tho' I think un-

Temple and Beckford took charge, an open letter appeared in the papers from a "Right Honourable Commoner to his Friend in the City" (that is from Pitt to Beckford), offered as an apologetic both for the resignation and the honors that followed. Within a week Newcastle wrote: "Mr. Pitt's most extraordinary and unwarrantable letter has had a most extraordinary and unanswerable effect and has brought back to him his mad, noisy city friends, who were for a time displeased with him."[9] But Temple and Beckford were not yet satisfied. When the king went to dine with the lord mayor at Guild Hall early in November, they organized a demonstration favorable to Temple and Pitt, as they rode in procession, and hostile to Bute. Within the Guild Hall Beckford led the applause greeting Pitt on his entrance, which seemed to make the former minister the hero of an occasion intended to honor the king.[10]

A termination of the war was imperative after Newcastle joined Temple and Pitt in opposition, though the duke's power was lessened by the withdrawal of royal support in the elections of 1761. The dispatch of the Duke of Bedford to France to help in the negotiations insured the support of his faction at home. But George Grenville and his brother-in-law, Egremont, were sometimes openly hostile,

deservedly) the Object of their Execration. And for What? Only for *accepting, since* his Resignation a Reward (if it was really a Reward) far inadequate to his Services. . . . I make a Distinction between accepting and soliciting Honours and Emoluments." London *Evening Post,* Oct. 10–13; *Public Ledger,* Oct. 12, 1761. On the other side, consult the pamphlet, *A Right Honourable Annuitant Vindicated.* The weak point in Pitt's armor on this occasion was not due to the accepting of honors and rewards, but to his previous boasted self-righteousness and criticism of others for what he now did himself.

[9] Lord John Russell, *Correspondence of John, Fourth Duke of Bedford,* III. 63; London *Evening Post,* Oct. 15–17; *Monitor,* Oct. 17; *Public Ledger,* Oct. 19; *St. James's Chronicle,* Oct. 20–22, 22–24, 1761. *Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham,* II. 158; George Thomas [Wentworth], Earl of Albemarle, *Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham,* I. 49 f.

[10] London *Evening Post,* Nov. 7–10; *St. James's Chronicle,* Nov. 12–14, 1761. Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of George III.,* I. 89 f. Chatham, *Correspondence,* II. 165. Beckford wrote to Pitt, November 6, urging him to be sure to attend with Temple at the Guild Hall, explaining: "Men's hopes and fears are strangely agitated at this critical juncture. . . . As you cannot say any one prediction of mine has proved false, so I hope you will give me an opportunity of being declared a true prophet in the present case." Lady Chatham said that her husband declared both before and after this occasion that he played his part against his own judgment. Lord John Cavendish commented to the Duke of Grafton, December 15, that Pitt's resignation was hard to explain: "His subsequent conduct has been weak; the accepting the peerage and pension at the same time that his brothers resigned their places was absurd. His writing the letter was mean, but the going to dine at Guild Hall in such parade as almost to excite the mob to insult the King was criminal." Sir William Anson, *Autobiography and Political Correspondence of Augustus Henry, third Duke of Grafton,* p. 35.

making the way to peace difficult. Grenville had married a daughter of Sir William Wyndham, giving him other influential family connections in addition to his own kin. When the treaty was ready, Bute dispensed temporarily with the leadership of Grenville and summoned the more experienced Fox to procure its approval by Parliament. Fox was too old and too ill to cherish his earlier ambitions, but he knew how to manage the House of Commons.[11] After carrying the immediate point, he demolished much of the remaining strength of Newcastle by discharging henchmen in the constituencies. Not for a long time or without the help of the king could the duke retrieve his former power.

In the not difficult task of procuring popular approval for the peace, Bute and Fox enlisted the literary ability of Smollett, who wrote in the *Briton,* and Murphy, who contributed to the *Auditor.* John Entick and others still wrote for the opposition in the *Monitor,* and a week after the publication of Smollett's first number, another paper appeared written in large part by John Wilkes and inspired by Temple. The very name of the new paper indicated that its method was to fight the devil with fire. Bute had capitalized successfully the prevailing tide of patriotism. Wilkes and Temple alleged that this patriotism had a provincial character, tending to sacrifice England to Scotland and the family of Stuart. They did not scruple to endanger the healing work of two generations of union to carry their immediate point. When this appeal to prejudice did not avail for the moment, the *North Briton* joined the *Monitor* in resurrecting the story of Isabella and Mortimer to damn the leadership of Bute by implying an intimacy with the king's mother.[12]

This concentration of the attack on Bute personally was to have an effect not purposed by its instigators. It did not impede the progress of the treaty through Parliament, for Bute, Fox, and the king were easily in control. But neither Bute nor Fox had the unbounded ambitions his enemies assumed. Bute had accepted office reluctantly and now proposed, by quitting his place, to relieve the king of criticism aimed at himself. Fox advised Bute to remain in office until a successor could be trained, only to receive the offer of the chief post for himself. Finally, despairing of a suitable successor, as John Almon said, the "office of prime minister was put into commission", the commissioners being George Grenville, Egremont, and the Earl of Halifax. Fox distrusted Grenville. Perhaps Bute would call behavior such as Grenville had displayed in the previous October "a Catonical temper and mulish resolution not to depart from what he once lays down"; very well, said Fox, but "let no such mule be in such an office". Nevertheless, the ministerial trinity began its disastrous career.[13]

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[11] The assumption that wholesale bribery of members was practiced at this or any other time in the eighteenth century requires much more support than the statements of such men as Horace Walpole before it deserves to be taken seriously. The remark attributed to Wilkes, that it "*was the damn'dest peace for the Opposition that ever was made*", is much more to the point. Russell, *Bedford Correspondence,* III. 202. *Cf.,* L. B. Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III.,* I. 225 ff., which has appeared since this article was written.

[12] *Monitor,* May 22, Oct. 9; *North Briton,* July 3, 1762. The daily papers recognized the timely interest of these six-page small folio sheets and reprinted them as soon as published. The London *Evening Post,* June 12–15, 1762, commented: "What a scene of controversial writing is now opened. . . . The chiefs on one side are the Monitor and his second, the North Briton; on the other is the Briton aided by the Auditor; these champions have drawn their quills, declared a chartal war, and once a week play off their argumentative artillery: and besides each of the belligerent parties have a number of light troops."

It discouraged writing for the press by discontinuing favorable weeklies and prosecuting hostile ones. Wilkes suspended his paper for a week when Bute retired. The issue of the next number, the forty-fifth, was met by a warrant for the apprehension of its author, printer, and publisher. This was a challenge to Temple, who may be regarded as the leader of the group that developed a habit of dining together to discuss the events of the day. The group consisted of the followers of himself and Pitt, and the remnant of the followers of Newcastle. The disappearance of the weeklies led to the systematic insertion of propaganda in the dailies, though the ministry kept so close a watch that it was dangerous to publish matter that was too unfavorable.[14]

In the controversy over Wilkes, Lord Chief Justice Pratt decided that the ministry had arrested him under the authority of an illegal warrant and released the prisoner on the ground of his privilege as a member of Parliament. But the ministers had acted on the advice of Charles Yorke, whom Newcastle was anxious to serve for the sake of Lord Hardwicke, while Pratt was a friend of Temple and Pitt, a complication which disturbed the harmony of the groups in opposition.

Fox, perhaps the clearest-headed politician of his day, was surprised before the end of 1762 to observe the king taking personally a

[13] Almon, *Biographical, Literary, and Political Anecdotes*, II. 14; Lord Fitzmaurice, *Life of William Earl Shelburne* (2nd ed.), I. chs. II., III.; Ilchester, *Henry Fox*, II. chs. XXVI.-XXVIII.

[14] *Calendar of Home Office Papers of George III., 1760–1765*, pp. 201, 248; *Public Advertiser*, March 14, April 8, May 9; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 24, 1763 (this paper became the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* in April, 1764); *History of the Late Minority, Exhibiting the Conduct, Principles, and Views of that Party During the Years 1762, 1763, 1764, and 1765.*

more active part in the government "than I imagin'd or than the world will believe".[15] But the propaganda of Wilkes and others was creating a widespread impression that Bute was the major villain of the piece. Temple was converted by the preaching he inspired, and Bedford, who had quarreled with Bute, accepted the same creed. By the summer of 1763 even Grenville and Egremont were blaming their patron for their own insufficiency. This obsession is one of the most important political facts of the time.

When, in the summer of 1763, the king thought of changing his ministers, Newcastle, Bedford, and Bute were all agreed that Pitt was an indispensable man, and the king undertook to enlist the services of that difficult statesman. Pitt unconsciously resented, if he ever admitted to himself, his large dependence on Temple and Beckford for political importance, and he refused to work with either Bedford or Grenville because of their part in making the peace. Temple, on the other hand, was becoming weary of the superior airs of his brother-in-law and confessed privately that he did not relish being "dragged at Mr. Pitt's tail". The death of Egremont during the negotiation was followed by conferences between Bute and Pitt, and Pitt and the king, among others. Writers searching for a mystery seem to have manufactured one unnecessarily. For once Pitt recognized the importance of coöperation among the factions in opposition, while the king refused to abandon the points for which he had previously striven. No doubt Bute gave advice, but victory did not rest with the favorite. Grenville became what he had not been hitherto, the head of the government, and Bute absented himself from London. Shelburne, a protégé of Bute, through whom the negotiation began, resigned his place. To quote the language of the king:

> I offer'd Mr. Grenville cordial support if he would act firmly and would do my business well; He pressed to my great surprise for the E[arl] of S[andwich] to succeed his Brother-in-Law. . . . He [Sandwich] persuaded the Duke of Bedford to be President of the Council who but a fortnight before had declared to me the Kingdom would be ruined if Mr. P[itt] did not come into Government.[16]

George faithfully kept this promise to Grenville and tried to develop him into a minister suitable for the royal purposes. The chief difficulty was that Sandwich had an aggressive character, and the prime minister was more amenable to the two secretaries of state and Bedford than to the king.

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[15] Ilchester, *Henry Fox*, II. 209.

[16] Fortescue, *Correspondence of George III.*, I. 164; W. J. Smith, *The Grenville Papers*, II. 83 ff., 191 ff.; Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne*, I. 200 ff.; Ilchester, *Henry Fox*, II. 266 ff.; Basil Williams, *Life of William Pitt*, II. 161 ff.; Chatham, *Correspondence*, II. 235 ff.; D. A. Winstanley, *Personal and Party Government*, pp. 164 ff.

The two self-appointed tasks of the ministry when Parliament met, November 15, 1763, were to regain the ground lost in the courts in the prosecution of Wilkes and to frame a budget that would win the favor of taxpayers. Sandwich paved the way for dealing with Wilkes by an appeal to piety and conventional morality, qualities which a candidate for popular favor in the eighteenth century ever disregarded at his peril. The best answer to Sandwich's charges was that his own habits made him an unsuitable accuser. But Temple knew the weight of the blow struck by the ministers and is said to have revealed the knowledge by his actions at the moment the charges were made. Pitt, accused by Wilkes of having read with enjoyment the pieces irregularly made public, henceforth affected to despise the man while supporting a popular cause.[17] Following this attack on the personal character of Wilkes, the two houses of Parliament declared the forty-fifth number of the *North Briton* a libel, condemned it to be burned by the common hangman, and, by another resolution, denied that parliamentary privilege protected the writer of a libel. The factions opposed to the ministers were divided on these points. Pitt felt that the paper was a libel, and Yorke had advised that privilege did not extend to writers of libels. Temple and Newcastle were able to muster enough votes on the questions of general warrants and the seizure of papers almost to defeat the ministry, but the strength of this minority was superficial and momentary. The older leaders had too many ancient jealousies; the younger, too many ambitions for them to act long together.

Amid these constitutional discussions Grenville introduced his budget. Appalled at the debt and taxation which resulted from the war, he was genuinely interested in devising fiscal expedients as little burdensome but as fruitful of revenue as might be. In this spirit he proposed a more productive levying and a more efficient collection of the duties on American trade. At the suggestion for laying a stamp tax he hesitated. The resolution that was passed on the subject asserted a right and probability of action; it was a sort of trial balloon to test feeling in the colonies and at home.[18]

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[17] Smith, *Grenville Papers*, II. 153 ff.; Almon, *Biographical Anecdotes*, II. 29. The volume of the literature in the Wilkes controversy prevents specific citation here, but it is worthy of a much closer study than it has received.

[18] *Parliamentary History*, XV. 1427. The resolution stated "That towards further defraying the said expences, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the said colonies and plantations". This resolution was later described in the Grenville circle as "not only of extreme magnitude, but of the most general and highest legal nature, involving in a discussion of the first and most fundamental principles of liberty, property, and government". As indicating opinion in influential quarters at this time, see London *Evening Post*, March 3–6, 1764.

Parliament assembled in January, 1765, in a vastly different atmosphere from that in which it had adjourned in the previous spring. True, the dismissal of General Conway from his army post for his vote on general warrants had insured the meddlesome activity of Horace Walpole against the ministry. But Charles Townshend and Charles Yorke, being young men in a hurry, were seeking the greener pastures of ministerial favor. Legge, Hardwicke, and Devonshire had died. Shelburne was on a honeymoon. Pitt had quit the fight, ill and disgruntled, and could not be induced by Newcastle to come forward. A suggestion that a weekly paper would help the cause found Almon willing to publish, but no one to write except the ineffective Walpole.[19] This total dissolution of organized opposition did not mean a corresponding increase in the strength of the ministry, though it did mean, as always in the eighteenth century, that, lacking influential names to lend weight or influence to the other side, the support of ministerial proposals was usually overwhelming. Under these circumstances, when forty-nine members of the House of Commons divided against the Stamp Act in committee, it is a misinterpretation of the facts to conclude that there was little opposition to it.

This disappearance of opposition did not mean inactivity in politics. All factions in and out of office were busy mending their fences. Pamphlets were issued both for and against the budget as well as on libels, general warrants, and the dismissal of army officers for their votes in Parliament. Newspaper propaganda, it is true, was hindered somewhat by the prosecution of publishers and by the withdrawal of privilege from members of Parliament disposed to write. Moreover, word was coming across the Atlantic that the colonials did not like the measures of the financial reformer.[20]

[19] Winstanley, *Personal and Party Government*, pp. 204 ff.; Smith, *Grenville Papers*, II. 426 ff., 457 ff.; III. 4, 118 ff.; Chatham, *Correspondence*, II. 293 ff.; Albemarle, *Memoirs of Rockingham*, I. 165 ff.; *History of Late Minority*, pp. 290 ff.; Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Lothian*, p. 252; John H. Jesse, *George Selwyn and his Contemporaries*, I. 301, 324, 365. Writing to Selwyn from London at the time the Stamp Act was under consideration, Rigby said: "the Opposition is reduced as low as I could wish it to be in the House of Commons, and, literally speaking, quite out of doors at the House of Lords, for Lord Temple never goes there."

[20] *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 7, 1764, advised that the constant watching of the papers to detect objectionable statements obliged the publisher to request that "all who honour this paper with their favours will have a regard for the safety of the printer". This paper was probably the best medium of propaganda among the dailies of the time. London *Evening Post*, Jan. 19–21, 1764, advised a contributor that his statements "must have some softening; for truths are told in so spirited a manner that we dare not run the risque of publishing it". The editor of the same paper, March 17–20, 1764, described his own arrest on an occasion when he was not sufficiently cautious.

An examination of the reported discussion leads to a doubt whether the Stamp Act was passed with little opposition and with the naïve ignorance of its probable consequences that are frequently assumed. The weightiest bit of evidence usually quoted to sustain the accepted view is Burke's recollection, asserted nine years later in an *ad hoc* speech with the exaggeration common to that orator. Against this assertion it is sufficient to cite the account of the debate published in the *Annual Register* for 1765, which Burke is reputed to have written and which is contrary to his later statement. The arguments on both sides are set down at some length, and it is said to have been " to the honour of parliament " that the passage of the act " was attended with no small debates, both as to the British legislature's right to tax the colonies without their concurrence and the expediency of exercising that right, if any ". This account was written when the events were fresh in the author's mind, but it may have been colored by the heat of the furious discussion which the Stamp Act left in its wake.[21]

On July 2, 1764, Charles Jenkinson reminded Grenville that his excuse to Parliament for " not going on with the Stamp Act " in the previous session was a lack of information. " This having been said, should not Government appear to take some step for that purpose? " If it was information he desired, before the vacation was over any reader of the current papers and pamphlets might have seen that all was not to be easy sailing for the colonial program of the ministers.[22]

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[21] *Parliamentary History*, XVI. 39; *Annual Register*, 1765, pp. 33 ff.; *Speeches of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke* (ed. 1816), I. 222. In the Speech on American Taxation Burke said that he " sat as a stranger in the gallery " when the act was considered and " never heard a more languid debate. . . . The opposition to the bill in England never could have done this mischief, because there scarcely ever was less of opposition to a bill of consequence ". This speech was naturally addressed to the questions under consideration when it was delivered. An examination shows that the speaker selected and even colored his facts to suit the several points he was trying to make in reply to arguments of opponents. Like every political pronouncement, this speech can be understood only when read with an appreciation of the atmosphere in which it was delivered.

The neglect of the account of the debate in the *Annual Register* may be due to a curiously misleading statement in the *Parliamentary History*, XVI. 34 ff., where there is a summary of the discussion of the Stamp Act, more than half of which, without specific credit, is taken from the *Annual Register*, but described by the compiler as " argument which was urged without doors (for very little was said within) for and against the measure, as extracted from the papers and pamphlets published at the time ".

[22] Smith, *Grenville Papers*, II. 373. See, for example, quotations from papers in *Gentleman's Magazine* (Oct., 1764), XXXIV. 493. This magazine carried as a leading article in March, 1764, an abstract of Pownall's *Administration of the Colonies*. Commenting on this pamphlet in the preface to the volume, the editor described it as having been " written to prevent the passing of an act for a new

Apparently questions were arising in the minds of responsible officials. Before the end of November it was given out to the papers that " It is certainly on the Carpet, for the British Plantations to have the Privilege of Representatives in the House of Commons in England; but we are told they are not to be chose by the whole Body of the People in our Colonies, but by and from amongst the Members of the Assemblies of the several Provinces ". A week afterward it was said to be " now the general Opinion that should the British American Colonies be allowed to send Representatives to Parliament, such Gentlemen must be Natives of the Provinces they represent, be possessed of considerable landed Property, and intitled to all the Privileges of their Character, without, however, having any Voice in the House, [on questions] which do not immediately concern the Interest of America only ". But a writer in the same paper commented: " The most sanguine well-wishers of the Colonies do not think the proposed Scheme of sending Representatives to Parliament practicable, as it would be introducing a Precedent which every Island and British Settlement in the West Indies and Africa would be ambitious to follow." [23] By the middle of January, 1765, reports appeared in England that the assembly of Rhode Island objected to " Stamp Duties and internal taxes " and entreated that " the colonies be not any way deprived of their just and long enjoyed rights ". While the bill was on its way through Parliament, the opposition in the press, especially from interested circles in the City, became more emphatic.[24]

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tax on their [the colonies] inhabitants, against which there have since been remonstrances from every government that is effected by it ". See also *Westminster Journal*, Sept. 8; London *Evening Post*, Oct. 9–11, 13–16, 1764.

[23] *St. James's Chronicle*, Nov. 24–27, Dec. 15–18; London *Evening Post*, Dec. 4–6, 1764.

[24] London *Evening Post*, Jan. 15–17, 24–26, 26–29, 1765. It was rumored in the latter part of January that the " proposed scheme of a Stamp Duty in North America is totally laid aside ". *Ibid.*, March 3–7, carried an abstract of " A Paper handed about called *Observations on the Proposed American Tax* " which asserted that the colonials were much indebted to the merchants; their trade curtailed, they would purchase fewer British goods. The proposed tax would " affect British Commerce and Navigation in a Manner probably surpassing all human Foresight ". Another writer in the same paper, offering a " Word to the Wise ", concluded: " It ought to be well considered whether the Government may not lose a much greater sum by the failure of the British Commerce than ten times the proposed American tax can amount to." The same paper a few days later (March 9–12) carried extracts from a real or fictitious " Letter from Virginia " dated January 6, 1765, saying, among other things: " My last letter advised you of the universal consternation of America on the resolution formed to load us with taxes. Its immediate effects were like those of an earthquake, every individual apprehending certain ruin. In this province we begin to grow calm. We see with certainty that the storm will recoil with double force to yourselves and ultimately be the most beneficial measure to us that could possibly be in-

But Grenville had made up his mind. Himself learned in the law, he had taken the advice of other lawyers, frequently unsafe guides on novel constitutional points in England.[25] Perhaps his mind was not yet made up beyond all peradventure of doubt, though he afterward came to feel so. Still he recalled a year later: "When I proposed to tax America, I asked the House, if any gentleman would object to the right; I repeatedly asked it, and no man would attempt to deny it." The members with mercantile connections, who realized and were disquieted by the probable consequences of the measure, may not have replied on this point, realizing the futility of their opposition. But the colonies had tried in vain to get consideration for petitions supporting their contention. Beckford later insisted that he spoke against the bill, and Halifax, the following year, was trying to explain why he disregarded an order in council issued on the recommendation of the Board of Trade advising the king to lay before Parliament information from the colonies hostile to the proposed measure.[26] However hesitant in launching it, once he had committed himself to the policy, Grenville made it a matter of unswerving conviction, and he was ever afterward quick to defend both its constitutionality and expediency. Almost the last advice he gave the king before parting from him as a minister was "that he besought His Majesty, as he valued his own safety, not to suffer any one to advise him to separate or draw the line between his British and American

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vented." People were already beginning to practice frugality, "and those are esteemed the best patriots and most in fashion whose cloaths are most thread-bare and patched. I sincerely pity you and other creditors upon whom the strain must fall heaviest. You compute this Colony owes to Great Britain a million; you know we cannot raise a mite towards the discharge of it. Our provincial debt amounts to £250,000. The new duties and stamps will complete our bankruptcy. . . . But you will not be the only sufferers. The public will lose more in revenue on tobacco than it will gain by stamps. We cultivate that commodity to exchange for your manufactures, which we shall soon convince you we have no need of". See also *ibid.*, March 14–16, for a letter from New York dated September 24, 1764. See Fred J. Hinkhouse, *The Preliminaries of the American Revolution in the English Press, 1763–1775*, pp. 52 ff., for a different view. The same work contains many references to British newspapers on the question of the repeal of the Stamp Act.

[25] Smith, *Grenville Papers*, II. 476 ff. Writing to Grenville, December 24, 1764, concerning mooted relations between Canada and England, Mansfield referred also to the right of taxation of the colonies. He suggested that Grenville have some one investigate "the origin of their power to tax themselves and raise money at all".

[26] *Parliamentary History*, XVI. 106; *Commons Journals*, XXX. 147 f.; *Lords Journals*, XXXI. 236; *American Historical Review*, XVII. 581 f.; Sir Henry Cavendish, *Debates in the House of Commons*, I. 41. Edward Montague, agent for Virginia, and the "Governor and Company of Connecticut" were denied permission to present petitions calling in question the jurisdiction of Parliament.

dominions; that his Colonies was the richest jewel of his Crown; that for his own part he must uniformly maintain his former opinions both in Parliament and out of it ".[27]

If the Stamp Act was a mistake, George III. at any rate was not to blame for it. He was ill while it was passing through Parliament and gave his consent to it by commission. When, a little later, he recovered sufficiently to do business, it was with a conviction that he ought to get rid of his ministers and that provision ought to be made for a regency against another illness, which might prove fatal to himself. His advisers, among whom was his uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, felt that the change of ministers would better wait on the question of a regency. But it was not, as is sometimes supposed, the latter question so much as it was the king's feeling that Grenville had gone wholly over to the Bedfords which caused him to look for other advisers.[28]

The first attempt to form a ministry failed, owing in part to Temple's growing disinclination to work under Pitt. After this negotiation, he became reconciled with his brother, Grenville. The Bedfords joined the new combination, all of its members agreeing that Bute was the chief evil with which the country had to deal. The question was, whether Pitt could remain in the family fold with the Bedfords. The Marquis of Rockingham, leading the remnant of the Newcastle party and some other younger men, felt his insufficiency without Pitt, and the king had to submit to Grenville and the Bedfords for several months more, though he did not pretend to relish the society of men who had imposed harsh terms upon him. When, within a few weeks, Bedford read him a sermon insisting on good will also, the king applied again, first to Temple and Pitt and others and then to Rockingham. This time, at Cumberland's entreaty, the young marquis reluctantly embarked on the difficult undertaking. The important question was, Would Pitt ultimately join the ministry or remain with Temple, Grenville, and the Bedfords? The next six months witnessed a campaign to influence the action of the Great Commoner, and it was not an easy question for him to decide.[29]

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[27] Smith, *Grenville Papers*, III. 215.

[28] Recognizing that it would be a knotty point for historians, the king made four attempts to narrate in a succinct memorandum the circumstances attending the dismissal of Grenville in the summer of 1765. He was positive, and there is no reason to doubt him, that Bute had nothing to do with it. A point which stuck in his mind was Grenville's refusal to listen to reason on the appointment of Weymouth as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; the minister had said: "As the Duke of Bedford wished it, he must support him." Fortescue, *Correspondence of George III.*, I. 162 ff.

[29] Winstanley, *Personal and Party Government*, chs. V., VI.; Fortescue, *Correspondence of George III.*, I. 92 ff.; Smith, *Grenville Papers*, III. 37 ff., 141 ff.;

In the American question Rockingham faced both a disputed theory and troublesome conditions. Inexperienced himself, he had as secretaries of state the youthful and uncertain Duke of Grafton and the hesitating Conway, both habitually sighing for the leadership of Pitt. Newcastle was too old to do more than give counsel, and death soon claimed Cumberland. Besides Rockingham and Newcastle, Northington, the Lord Chancellor, and Egmont, First Lord of the Admiralty, were the king's chief advisers. Bute's faction was uncertain, and most of its members inclined to oppose on most measures. Temple, Bedford, Grenville, Sandwich, and their cohorts were active and able. Luckily the dispute centered on the Stamp Act rather than on the legislation of 1764, enabling the West Indian and North American groups in the City for once in a great while to act together.

Later generations have tended to neglect the point to which the ministers gave first attention, though it was one with which they did not quite know how to deal. If the Stamp Act was not, as the Americans insisted, contrary to the British constitution, the colonists were guilty of serious breaches of the law which could not be passed by unnoticed. But the commerce of the kingdom faced immediate ruin unless the offending act could be repealed or so modified as to appease the Americans. Since 1688 the nature and content of the constitution had been a constant theme of discussion, but no way had been devised for determining authoritatively a disputed constitutional point. Such a point had now arisen, and serious consequences threatened unless it could be decided. Little wonder the king and his new ministers faced their task hesitantly.

Before the recess for the holidays, at the short session of Parliament which assembled on December 17, 1765, to issue writs to fill up vacancies, the king called attention to conditions in America, while Temple, Grenville, and their associates revealed a disposition to oppose whatever the ministry might suggest. Pitt remained away and would tell no man his views, writing peevishly to a former supporter who sought advice.[30] Grafton and Conway threatened to resign if their coveted chief was not repeatedly urged to come in. Newcastle, learning that Pitt had said he was the obstacle in the way, generously offered to quit office and enlist under that leader. But when the ministers sent to Bath to ask Pitt's advice on America, to quote the king,

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Albemarle, *Memoirs of Rockingham*, I. 180 ff.; Russell, *Bedford Correspondence*, III. 278 ff.; Chatham, *Correspondence*, II. 307 ff.; Ilchester, *Henry Fox*, II. 293 ff.; Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne*, I. 252 ff.; Anson, *Autobiography of Grafton*, pp. 29 ff.

[30] *Commons Journals*, XXX. 437 ff.; *Lords Journals*, XXXI. 225 ff.; Fortescue, *Correspondence of George III.*, I. 199 ff.; Chatham *Correspondence*, II. 338 ff.

he "in plain English refus'd to give it them, though he added that he was ready to speak with me ".[31] In fact, caught in a strait situation, the Great Commoner had decided, as the immediate way out, to execute a straddle. When Parliament met on January 14, he was ready to make his entrance as dramatic as possible in order to save himself embarrassment. But he reckoned without the fanatical sincerity of his brother-in-law.

Certain passages on that memorable occasion have obscured others wherein lay much of its significance for the moment. Nugent of the Temple faction, the fifth speaker in the debate on the address, demanded that the ministers make known their intentions on the American question and argued that the Stamp Act should be enforced "except the right was acknowledged and the repeal solicited as a favour ". Pitt spoke next. He was an outsider, "unconnected and unconcerted ". He approved generally of the speech and the address and disapproved of the capital measures of the late ministry. Had he been physically able, he would have attended to oppose the Stamp Act. But he could not give the current ministers his confidence because "methinks I plainly discern the traces of an overruling influence ", a cryptic statement which could be (and was) interpreted as referring to either Bute or Newcastle as suited the hearer. He asked leave, being in uncertain health, to state his views on the right to tax America. The familiar statements followed in which he asserted the supremacy of Parliament over the colonies, excepting only the right to levy direct taxes.

Conway intervened to deny an overruling influence and to agree in general with what Pitt had said. But Grenville would not leave the matter thus. He defended the constitutionality and policy of the act and alleged that the Americans had been encouraged to resist it by factional opposition in Parliament. He ridiculed Pitt's finespun distinctions, and the debate became an altercation between the two relatives. Pitt lamented that he had been "betray'd by all parties ", while Grenville complained that he had been misrepresented in the press. In their heat, both speakers probably made statements they had not intended. A family union of the Grenville clan became thereby more difficult. Within a month (February 11) Pitt wrote to his wife: "I am sorry to say Lord Temple rises in passion and sinks in consideration." [32]

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[31] Fortescue, *Correspondence of George III.*, I. 217.

[32] Chatham, *Correspondence*, II. 376. For the debate see *Parliamentary History*, XVI. 95 ff. This account is taken from a pamphlet, *Political Debates* (*q.v.*), published with a Paris imprint in 1766 in behalf of the Temple-Bedford party, whose interpretation of the affair it may be taken to represent. See an abstract of this pamphlet in *Gentleman's Magazine* (April, 1766), XXXVI. 155 ff. It was re-

After this debate, the secretaries of state repeated their threat to resign unless Pitt was again invited to join the ministry. The king had already decided privately that if he could keep his ministers in office until "the arduous business of the American Colonys is over then I can stand upon my own feet". He had written to Northington before the debate that "if others thought as I do of both the S[ecretaries] of S[tate] in point of abilitys there would not be many long faces on their retiring".[33] But he agreed that Rockingham and Grafton should visit Pitt, January 18, and inquire whether "he is disposed at this time to come into my service" and "whether Lord Temple's declining would prevent his accepting?" The reply was that "no man was more desirous to serve" the king, but he thought the second question a "cruel one". He could not accept office unless Temple was invited at the same time, but his relations with Temple were not such that he could propose the matter to him, nor could he suggest any one else to undertake that task. Were Temple to accept and insist on his new allies, Pitt would not join himself, "and he must be excus'd declaring any thing of his own conduct if Lord Temple would not accept". On the question of receiving the petition of the Stamp Act Congress ten days later, he embarrassed the ministers by opposing the position they took.[34]

Since the previous autumn, inspired by the difficulties of the merchants and the propaganda of friends of the colonies of whatever description on one side and by the activities of Temple, Sandwich, and their associates and agents on the other, the discussion out of doors had grown increasingly heated. The charters of the colonies that had them were printed at length in newspapers. There were writers both to oppose and to uphold the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. As to which side had the better in numbers and weight of argument, it is impossible to say. Grafton later expressed the

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printed in the *Scots Magazine*, April and May, 1766, XXVIII. 167 ff., 241 ff. Conway sent a minute of the debate to the king (Fortescue, *Correspondence of George III.*, I. 224 ff.); Walpole's account (*Memoirs of the Reign of George III.*, II. 255 ff.) is generally untrustworthy, distorted like so much of his writing by his prejudices. He claims to have had "authentic notes from one that was present at the debate", probably Conway, but we can not be sure how much he colored these notes when elaborating them in later years. See further Pitt's letter to his wife on the following day and the note thereto in Chatham, *Correspondence*, II. 363 ff. In Hist. MSS. Com., *Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts*, I. 103, is a delightful account sent by Sackville to Irwin, January 17. See finally Rockingham's letter to the king in Albemarle, *Memoirs of Rockingham*, I. 270.

[33] Fortescue, *Correspondence of George III.*, I. 213, 220.

[34] Fortescue, *Correspondence of George III.*, I. 237 ff., 246. On this occasion Pitt said that the Stamp Act broke the "Original Compact with the Americans". *Cf.*, Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of George III.*, II. 271.

opinion that if Pitt had joined the ministry "the nation would have been brought to a conviction, at least, of the expediency of giving up all right of taxation over the colonies".[35] There is evidence to support this view, and we frequently overlook the trouble that the ministers took to obtain an authoritative decision on the right of taxation as a preliminary step to their further measures. One reason for this method of procedure was the pointed agitation in favor of the colonial view. This activity needed to be stopped if confusion was not to increase.

Accordingly, resolutions were introduced simultaneously in both houses of Parliament. The first resolution in each case dealt with the disputed constitutional point, being an assertion of the right of Parliament to make laws binding the colonies in "all cases whatsoever". These resolutions were appointed for consideration by both houses in committee on February 3. The king thought it was likely to be a "fatal day" for his ministers, and he felt in consequence that "this hour is perhaps one of the most critical ever known in this Country". But the first item of the ministerial program received the immediate approval of both houses after debates which had the character of discussions before judicial rather than legislative tribunals. The House of Commons sat until four in the morning; the Lords had not so much to say. As soon as the decision was reached, the news was made known in quarters where it was likely to be helpful to the ministers. The morning paper that had the widest circulation and was the best medium of propaganda at the time announced, and later enforced the policy:

> As we are informed it is now decided that the legislature of this Kingdom hath a right to levy taxes on America, we beg leave to inform our correspondents that we can no longer admit any letters in which that right is in any wise controverted. While it was an undecided question, we readily admitted the disputants on either side of it; but since it is no longer so, our correspondents must submit to that august decision.[36]

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[35] Anson, *Autobiography of Grafton*, p. 68.

[36] *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 5, 1766. A writer in the *Public Advertiser*, April 11, 1766, lamented that he could not "at present" dispute the right of England to tax the colonies, but ventured "yet I question greatly whether from the beginning it was so or understood to be so". But most writers accepted the action of Parliament as decisive, as Camden later asserted he did (Anson, *Autobiography of Grafton*, p. 216). Philip Francis, who attended the debate in the House of Lords, wrote an account of it the next day to a friend at Lisbon (Beata Francis and Eliza Keary, *The Francis Letters*, pp. 72 ff.). It impressed him as "one of the most important Questions ever agitated in Parliament". *American Historical Review*, XVII. 563 ff., contains a summary report of the debate in the House of Commons by Grey Cooper and editorial references to other reports. Unfortunately Cooper made no notes on the speech of Sergeant Hewett, after Camden the most prominent lawyer to adopt the view of the colonies. Burke

After the first, asserting the law of the constitution, the remaining resolutions were devoted to an attempt to deal with the refractory colonists who had violated it. The judgment passed on the offenders and the mild and ineffective penalties the king was advised to impose need not concern us here. All of the resolutions passed the committee in the Lords within a few days; the Commons delayed longer because of dilatory tactics by the opposition and because the ministers were not at first sure of their ground. After the Lords acted (February 6, if the king's memory is to be trusted), Rockingham informed George III. that the question was now whether the Stamp Act should be repealed or enforced. George had hoped for a middle ground of "modification", but he agreed to support his ministers in procuring complete repeal. The next day Grenville moved that the act be enforced, but was defeated by a large majority, the king having permitted the use of his name in behalf of the ministry. A few days afterward the king chanced to say in a conversation with a caller that he really preferred "modification". Bedford and his allies consulted together, spread word that Rockingham had misquoted the king, and offered to come in and undertake a program of modification. But George was loyal to the ministry and declined the offer, saying that he "did not think it constitutional for the Crown personally to interfere in Measures which it has thought proper to refer to the Advice of Parliament". The House committee finally reported its resolutions, February 18, concluding with one recommending the repeal of the act. Thereupon the bill was brought in, though Blackstone tried to cumber it with the requirement that the colonial assemblies expunge their resolutions as a necessary condition of the repeal. The Declaratory Act followed the precedent of a measure passed in 1719 dealing with the relations between Ireland and England (16 Geo. I. c. 5). It did not "enact", but "declared" the law; it "declared and enacted" that the resolutions of the assemblies were "null and void". Such debate on the last bill as has survived seems, like that on the preliminary resolutions, to have been in the nature of discussion before a judicial body.[37]

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stated happily the crux of the matter: "The British Empire must be governed on a Plan of Freedom for it will be governed by no other. They were meer Corporations, Fishermen and Furriers, they are now Commonwealths." Barré moved to leave off the concluding "in all cases whatsoever" and was supported by Pitt, but in a somewhat befuddled speech containing curious distinctions, if he was accurately reported. See finally, Fortescue, *Correspondence of George III.*, I. 254.

[37] Fortescue, *Correspondence of George III.*, I. 262 ff.; *Commons Journals*, XXX. 602 ff.; Russell, *Bedford Correspondence*, III. 362 ff.; *American Historical Review*, XVII. 577 ff. This document clearly contains minutes of two debates, one on the Declaratory Act and the other on the repeal of the Stamp Act. It is interesting to note that Mansfield objected to "enacting" the votes of the assemblies to be void.

For the passage of these measures through Parliament both Rockingham and the king deserve more credit (or blame) than is usually allowed to them. Furthermore, with the help of the North American and West Indian groups, who compromised former differences and organized in the face of the common danger, the ministers were able to ameliorate other conditions to which the colonies objected. But they soon ran their course. Immediately the Stamp Act was repealed, Northington declined to work further with his colleagues. Grafton resigned a month later. The king earnestly wished to avoid placing himself in the hands of " the Family [that is the Grenvilles] than which there is nothing I would not rather submit to ". Rockingham would have welcomed Pitt, but would not divide power with the friends of Bute, who had opposed his measures. Advised by Egmont and Northington, the king strove to keep Rockingham until Parliament was prorogued. In July he began again to negotiate for a new ministry. For the last time, at Pitt's instigation, he offered to make Temple First Lord of the Treasury. But when that noble lord discovered that he was to be the responsible head of a ministry in the forming of which he was to have little more voice than the nomination of his associates on the treasury board, he expressed his opinion of the proposals in emphatic language and went home to await the delicious opportunity of showing how unwise it is even for a great man to bite the hand that has fed him.[38]

Lacking Temple, Pitt commanded the unwilling services of Grafton for the position of honor in his ministry. Grafton stipulated that Charles Townshend should be chancellor of the exchequer, and it was unreasonable to expect a man with his talents and ambitions to sacrifice the lucrative place of paymaster and remain a figurehead. Shelburne, who also had personal views and ambitions, became one secretary of state. The other, Conway, never forgetting that he had deserted Rockingham, was as frequently tempted to desert the new ministry. The lesser lights of the Rockingham party held on as a pledge that Pitt might depend upon a support from that group which some of his own party had refused to Rockingham.[39]

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[38] Chatham, *Correspondence*, II. 468 ff. Even to his sister, Temple made his feelings clear: " I told the King and my Lord Chancellor to this effect, amongst a variety of other things, that though I was most willing to sacrifice my brother's pretensions, as he was himself, to Mr. Pitt's indisposition towards him, for the sake of the public and general union, yet as that in my opinion was not the plan, I would not *go in like a child, to come out like a fool.*"

[39] Fortescue, *Correspondence of George III.*, I. 285 ff.; Chatham, *Correspondence*, II. 421 ff.; Russell, *Bedford Correspondence*, III. 333 ff.; Smith, *Grenville Papers*, III. 255 ff.; Albemarle, *Memoirs of Rockingham*, I. 321 ff.; Anson, *Autobiography of Grafton*, pp. 88 ff.; Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne*, I. 258 ff.; Mary Bateson, *Narrative . . . by Duke of Newcastle*, pp. 57 ff.

This ministry, made famous by Burke's description, had the support at first of both the king and Parliament and, with reasonably competent management, might easily have governed the country. To Pitt belongs the chief responsibility for wrecking it. He did the work before he retired from the scene, demonstrating a signal want of qualification for political leadership, remarkable in a man who occupies his unique place in the annals of the time. He accepted a peerage for himself, leaving Townshend and Conway rivals for leadership in the Commons; he used lavishly pensions and reversions in satisfying the pretensions of Camden and Northington; he insisted on a futile negotiation with Prussia and Russia in unbelievable disregard of pending negotiations; more fatal to the existence of his ministry, against the advice of Conway and others who foretold what would follow, he dismissed from office consequential members of the Rockingham party to make room for men of no such influence and so lost the support of that party. Conway kept office, but soon refused to attend ministerial conferences. With a view of obtaining the territorial revenue of the East India Company for reducing the national debt, Chatham insisted that Parliament debate the right of the government to make the seizure, thus raising another troublesome constitutional question. Finally, the ministers allowed Parliament to be prorogued for too long a period without dealing with the emergency due to a scarcity of grain and then issued an order in council suspending the law regulating exportation, which enabled their opponents to accuse them of governing by prerogative.

Meantime, Temple with his lieutenants had dipped their pens in vitriol and turned with fiendish glee on the relative he had formerly delighted to honor. An abler leader than the new Lord Chatham might not have weathered the storm. He sought help, even from Bedford, but failed to obtain it, because of his chronic inability to understand the methods or even to speak the language of those who were the springs of political power. By Christmas Eve, 1766, followers of Rockingham were saying that it was not lack of strength which made them decline " to meddle in that political altercation which was carried on between Stowe and Pynsent during the Heat of last Summer. All People of clean Characters kept aloof to avoid the dirt which flew so liberally from both sides. The Family Compact broke out into a Family Quarrel. The Parties knew one another perfectly well; and it was right to leave them to themselves ". Another writer remarked that the people of England had desired Pitt with the impatience of a child longing for a " plaything ", but having had him even for a short season, " the whole world is now witness with what shameless inconstancy they desire to get rid of him ".[40]

Nevertheless, Chatham did not serve badly the purposes of George III., who now earnestly desired to keep him in office. The two found that they were almost kindred spirits in the few months they worked together. Perhaps it was a too exuberant confidence in the place which he had found in royal favor which inspired Chatham's imprudence in offending other leaders. At any rate, the strong factions of Temple, Bedford, and Rockingham were soon united against the ministry, though time was to reveal that they agreed on little else.

But for the American question this strong combination might have formed a ministry when Chatham became too ill to take an effective part in the government. The repeal of the Stamp Act left Grenville and others who sympathized with him grieving that Britain had given up " sovereignty " over the colonies. Wiser persons said no further action ought soon to be taken on a point which should never have been raised at all. Townshend had favored the Stamp Act and voted for its repeal, and he now had little sympathy with Chatham's designs against the East India Company. When introducing his budget for the year, he accepted Grenville's suggestion that the expenses of troops in America ought to be borne in that country. In vain Shelburne wrote repeatedly to warn Chatham of the difficulties certain to follow. That minister himself had begun to despair of the colonies, feeling that " they will draw upon their heads national resentment by their ingratitude ".

An effort was made to replace Townshend when he persisted in his own way on the East India question. North refused a secret tender of the office, but apprised Townshend of the offer. Then the followers of Temple and Rockingham mustered strength to reduce the land tax below the figure proposed in the budget. Thereupon Townshend carried his new taxes on the colonies with the help of Grenville and others who opposed the repeal of the Stamp Act. These taxes, as was the case with the Stamp Act, were levied despite warnings both within and without doors of their probable consequences.

When Grafton and the king, lacking help from Chatham, tried to enlist a stronger ministry from the groups in opposition, they found Grenville and Temple insisting that something must be done " to assert and maintain the sovereignty " of Britain over the colonies.

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[40] *Public Advertiser*, Dec. 24; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 26, 1766. *An Enquiry into the Conduct of a late Right Honourable Commoner* is an example of the attacks on Chatham; both pamphlets and newspaper pieces were too numerous for further citation.

Bedford contrived to have the negotiation break down over his objection to Conway as leader in the Commons, but Rockingham knew that Grenville was the alternative, so the point at issue was the same. The opposition then dissolved, and the Bedfords joined the ministry in January, 1768, leaving the Grenvilles and Rockinghams to go their several ways. Before the end of 1769, Chatham had resigned and had again joined his brothers-in-law. Rockingham and his friends set Burke to write a pamphlet setting forth the program of their party. Before the *Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents* made its appearance in the spring of 1770, it had become necessary to alter slightly its tone in order not to give too great offense to Chatham, who now again frequently acted with the Rockinghams in opposition. As it was, he felt the pamphlet as a sore point.[41]

And thus the long story of the bickerings of British politicians both in and out of office might be told for still another decade, until the colonies were lost, not wholly for lack of men of understanding to govern them more wisely, but because, being divided on other questions, they were seldom able to unite to do what they knew ought to be done for the salvation of the empire.[42]

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[41] Fortescue, *Correspondence of George III.*, I. 480 ff.; Bateson, *Narrative by Newcastle*, pp. 100 ff.; Anson, *Autobiography of Grafton*, pp. 132 ff.; Albemarle, *Memoirs of Rockingham*, II. 44 ff.; Smith, *Grenville Papers*, IV. 33 ff.; Russell, *Bedford Correspondence*, III. 363 ff.; Charles William, Earl Fitzwilliam, *Correspondence of Burke*, I. 94, II. 144 ff.; D. A. Winstanley, *Lord Chatham and the Whig Opposition*, pp. 86 ff.

[42] Readers of the late C. W. Alvord's *Mississippi Valley in British Politics* will recall that he made a similar point in explaining the difficulties of the British government in dealing with the regions acquired in 1763.

GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE'S HORSE SUPPLY, 1862–1865

ALTHOUGH it has long been an axiom that the effectiveness of an army depends upon its mobility and its food supply as well as upon its discipline, technical training, and the skill of its officers, it is a strange fact that the numerous histories of the military operations of General Lee have paid but little attention to his constant worries over food supply and practically none at all to his equally difficult and equally important problem of maintaining mobility. These two subjects are so closely interrelated that it is impossible to separate them; but the present study, for the sake of brevity, will deal primarily with one factor in the problem of movement, namely, Lee's supply of horses and mules and his facilities for keeping them in condition for service. It is hoped that the examination of this subject will throw some new light upon Lee's operations, especially during the last two years of the campaigns in Virginia.

The census of 1860 indicates that there was a normal supply of horses and mules in the Confederate States at the beginning of the war; but the lower South was not a horse-breeding country, although a few fine horses for saddle or racing purposes were raised there. The great horse-breeding region was in Kentucky, Tennessee, and western Virginia, and the planters generally bought their horses and mules from those states. In the principal cotton states, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, there were nearly as many mules as horses, while in Louisiana there were more. In Texas there was a large surplus of horses, but they were mostly of the small "mustang" breed and not well adapted either to draft purposes or to cavalry use. Oxen were widely used throughout the South, especially on the small farms.

In order to understand the situation after hostilities began it is necessary to note the method of procuring and subsisting horses for the Confederate armies. Under an act of the Provisional Congress, March 6, 1861, each mounted volunteer was to furnish his own horse and horse equipment, for which he was to receive forty cents a day and pay for the horse if it should be killed in action. This provision, adopted partly in the interest of economy and partly in the belief that the men would furnish better mounts than the government and that they would take better care of their own property, was later the cause of much difficulty in procuring remounts for the cavalry in Virginia.

Mounted officers also furnished their own horses. All other army horses, that is, those for artillery and baggage trains, were to be provided by the quartermaster's department. This department, or bureau, had charge of all army transportation and of furnishing grain and "long forage" (*i.e.*, hay and fodder) for all animals, including those of the cavalry. Horses were used, then, for three purposes: for cavalry and mounted officers, for artillery, and for post and field transportation. Mules also were used in the transportation service, but they were not favored for cavalry or artillery.

Because of the long distances from the lower states to the Virginia front, and also because of the overloaded condition of the railroads, the quartermaster general at first preferred to buy the horses for artillery and field transportation service in Virginia either in that state or in North Carolina. Most of them were obtained in the Shenandoah Valley or in southwestern Virginia. Cavalry regiments that were organized and mounted in other states were generally marched to Virginia. There was no marked difficulty in procuring horses and mules in 1861, but by the summer of 1862 the situation had changed. The loss of Missouri, Kentucky, western and middle Tennessee, and trans-Allegheny Virginia had cut off the great reservoir of the better grade of horses, while the depreciation of Confederate currency in the spring, after the retreat of Albert Sidney Johnston's army into Mississippi, had sent prices up to unprecedented heights. Early in June the quartermaster general, whose department evidently was not yet well organized, complained that it taxed his exertions and the resources of the country to provide horses for both the transportation and the artillery and to obtain forage for them, and suggested that the number of artillery companies should not be increased.[1]

That astonishing series of operations during the summer of 1862, by which Lee threw the Union armies out of Virginia, had the effect of saving the grain crop to the Confederates. The army became less dependent upon the railroads for food and forage and, except for short intervals, was well supplied until winter came on; but because of the constant service and extraordinary exertions required of them the horses were badly worn down by the end of September, when their food was becoming scarce. The attentive care which Lee always gave to the horses of his army is noticeable throughout this first of his great campaigns.[2] Losses of artillery and cavalry horses, necessarily much exposed in battle, had been severe. With great difficulty the artillery was refurnished with horses; but the problem of remounting the cavalry was harder. Under the law the men must furnish their own mounts. They were to be paid only for horses lost in battle and then only at the value appraised when mustered into service. This allowance was now insufficient, because of the depreciation of the currency, to enable them to buy new ones. Even Virginians who were near home had great difficulty in procuring horses because of the high prices. Men from distant states found it almost impossible to remount themselves. To make matters worse, the horses of Stuart's cavalry had contracted diseases known as "sore tongue" and "greased heel" or "soft hoof" which rendered many of them unfit for use.[3] So many men were dismounted that Lee sought to transfer them to the infantry and to replace them with infantrymen who could procure horses. His cavalry was so greatly weakened that he was unable to operate effectively against McClellan's flank when the latter crossed into Virginia east of the Blue Ridge late in October. The only means which the secretary of war could suggest for strengthening the cavalry was to purchase one thousand horses in Texas, bring them all the way to Virginia and sell them to the dismounted men at cost.[4] This suggestion, however, was not carried out.

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[1] Quartermaster General's Letter-Book, I. 362, *et passim*, Confederate Archives, Adjutant General's Office, U. S. War Department. A. C. Myers to G. W. Randolph, secretary of war, June 5, 1862, *ibid.*, IV. 267.

[2] R. E. Lee to Jefferson Davis, Sept. 28, Oct. 1, 1862, U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. I. vol. XIX., pt. 2, pp. 633, 642–643.

As the winter of 1862–1863 came on, the difficulty of getting supplies to the Army of Northern Virginia caused Lee great anxiety. Burnside's thrust at Fredericksburg forced him to concentrate his army and thus to decrease his range for foraging and increase his dependence upon the feeble railroads. The immediate countryside was soon exhausted, and wagons were sent as far as seventy miles away for forage. But the quartermasters' teams were too weak to haul heavy loads so far over bad roads. Sometimes heavy rains or extremely cold weather stopped them altogether. Long distances, light loads, and a growing scarcity of teams and wagons kept the stock of supplies at a dangerously low level. The railroads were doing but little better, for they were delivering only about one-sixth of the ration of hay and not even that much with regularity.[5] By February food was so scarce for both men and animals that Lee was compelled to scatter his army in order to feed it. Artillery horses were sent as far away as was safe—some towards the James and others to the lower Rappahannock; part of the cavalry was moved to Page County in the Shenandoah Valley; and, most important of all, about half of Longstreet's corps was sent south of the lower James for the double purpose of checking the Federals at Norfolk and Suffolk and of getting out supplies. Lee took the chance that Burnside would remain inactive, for the bad weather that cut down his own supplies likewise made it difficult for his antagonist to move. There is evidence that, but for the condition of the roads and streams and the lack of food, Lee himself would have assumed the offensive; for he wrote Jefferson Davis in the middle of February expressing regret that the situation did not admit of attack. The rivers and streams were swollen and without bridges; the roads were impassable; and, he added: "Our horses and mules are in that reduced state that the labor and exposure incident to an attack would result in their destruction, and leave us destitute of the means of transportation." [6]

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[3] R. E. Lee to G. W. Randolph, Nov. 10, 1862, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XIX., pt. 2, p. 709; Heros von Borcke, *Memoirs of the Confederate War for Independence*, pp. 326, 343–344; J. S. Wise, *The Long Arm of Lee*, I. 348. McClellan's cavalry horses were also attacked by these diseases; see, *e.g.*, John Gibbon, *Personal Recollections of the Civil War*, p. 93.

[4] G. W. Randolph to Lee, Nov. 14, 1862, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XIX., pt. 2, p. 716.

[5] R. E. Lee to T. J. Jackson, Feb. 7, 1863, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. LI., pt. 2, pp. 678–679. "Send Hay as fast as possible. . . . The animals here are dying for

With the approach of spring and the renewal of active operations Lee gave close attention to his horses. Despite the greatest care, many of them had died during the winter. The quartermaster general was called upon for horses to fill the gaps in the artillery, and every effort was made to help the dismounted cavalrymen to procure mounts. But it was almost a hopeless task. In March, because of "the difficulty of procuring animals and forage, and from the increased demand for transportation and subsistence", Lee ordered a reduction in the transportation of the army—that is, of wagons and teams for the several headquarters and for medical, quartermaster, and other services—to the lowest possible limit. The reorganization of the artillery, and especially the introduction of heavier guns, made heavier draft horses necessary and they were very hard to find. When requested by General Wade Hampton to increase the number of batteries of horse artillery for service with the cavalry, Lee replied that it was impossible on account of the difficulty of procuring horses. While Hooker was preparing in April to take the offensive, Lee, with Longstreet still absent below the James, was forced to remain immobile because of the condition of his horses and the scarcity of food

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want of forage and none can be obtained in the country round about." W. H. Kirker, Milford Depot, to G. G. Thompson, Hanover Junction, Feb. 27, 1863, Papers of George G. Thompson (in Library of Congress). Kirker was assistant quartermaster.

[6] *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XXV., pt. 2, pp. 509, 604, 627, 632; Douglas S. Freeman, *Lee's Confidential Dispatches to Davis*, pp. 71–72.

and forage.[7] The weakness of his cavalry was especially trying, for the Federal cavalry had been heavily reënforced and was beginning to ride over the smaller Confederate units by sheer weight of numbers. This was ominous; for it should be remembered that hitherto the cavalry of Stuart had been superior in fighting power to that of the Federals. The better remount facilities of the Northern army were beginning to tell, and had Hooker known how to use his cavalry at this juncture he might have inflicted disaster upon Lee. On April 20 Lee again ordered a reduction in the scanty transportation of his army. A few days later he wrote to his chief of artillery, General Pendleton, " The destruction of horses in the army is so great that I fear it will be impossible to supply our wants. There are not enough in the country ".[8]

General Lee's statement that there were not enough horses in the country for army use after only one year of active warfare may seem surprising; but as he was never given to exaggeration the statement deserves consideration. By " the country " he may have meant Virginia or the region from which his own army normally drew its animals; and he evidently had in mind also the surplus of horses above the minimum requirements of the farmers.[9] Lee, who seemed to consider everything, insisted at all times that the farmers be hindered as little as possible in the production of crops because, if for no other reason, his army must be fed largely from Virginia. He had already seen that, because of their weak condition, he could not depend upon the railroads for sufficient supplies from the lower South;[10] besides, the other armies must now draw upon that region. Without teams the Virginia farmers could neither plant nor harvest. It had not taken long to draw off their small surplus of horses and mules; and future levies upon their teams—inevitable, because of the heavy destruction of the animals with the army—must result in a decrease in the production of the food and forage by means of which the army existed and moved. Horses were still to be procured in Virginia, at a heavy cost to agriculture; but Lee was never again adequately supplied with them.

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[7] " General Orders, no. 43 ", Mar. 21, 1863, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XXV., pt. 2, p. 681; W. N. Pendleton to A. H. Cole, Mar. 31, *ibid.*, p. 695; Lee to Hampton, Mar. 31, *ibid.*, p. 694; Lee to Davis, Apr. 16, *ibid.*, p. 725. In early April, 1863, when the stock of food in Richmond was nearly exhausted, the quartermaster general was unable to supply wagons and teams with which to haul 67,000 bushels of wheat from Essex County on the lower Rappahannock. L. B. Northrop to A. C. Myers, and Myers to Northrop, Apr. 3, 4, 8, 16, 1863, Quartm. Gen.'s " Letters Received ", Confederate Archives.

On April 17, 1863, Edmund Ruffin noted in his diary that good hay cost $25 per 100 pounds in Richmond, and added: " It seems to me that our country & cause are now, for the first time during the war, in great peril of defeat—& not from the enemy's arms, but from the scarcity & high prices of provisions, & the impossibility of the government feeding the horses of the army, which is even much more difficult than to feed & support the men. In the cavalry brigade to which my grandson belongs, the horses have rarely had any feed but corn for some months—& are generally without any hay or other long provender, & for weeks together. Horses cannot live on grain alone, even if plentifully supplied with it. As might be expected, the horses are reduced very low in flesh & strength, & many are dying, & more failing entirely. I do not know, but infer that this brigade is not worse supplied than all others of our cavalry in eastern Virginia. And if so, the cavalry and the wagon & artillery teams cannot be capable of performing hard or even moderate service. . . ." *Diary of Edmund Ruffin*, IX. 1623. MSS. Div., Library of Congress. For this and later citations to this diary I am under obligations to Professor Avery O. Craven, who called my attention to them.

[8] *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XXV., pt. 2, pp. 739, 740–741, 749.

[9] " The waste & destruction of horses in our cavalry service are enormous—& enough to destroy the efficiency of that branch of the army, as well as to increase both public and private expenses beyond all calculation for new supplies of horses.

After Chancellorsville, Lee was forced to remain immobile for more than a month, partly because he needed time for the reorganization of his army after the death of Stonewall Jackson, but partly also because of the condition of his horses.[11] The artillery horses were again sent away to be foraged; heavy horses were transferred from the transport service to the guns and replaced by mules; new ones were brought up by the quartermasters. The cavalry was still in bad condition. More than one-fourth of Stuart's men were without mounts, while nearly all the horses in service were poor and weak. The cavalry was given as much rest as the safety of the army would allow, and as spring grass and clover came on the animals began to mend. Lee was greatly cheered in the last days of May by the capture of some 1200 to 1500 horses during a raid on the upper Potomac by Generals W. E. Jones and Imboden; but even with this addition to his resources he was unable to provide sufficient teams for

It was one part of our general bad system of southern economy to raise very few horses, & to buy nearly all, & all our mules, from the western states. A change of this general system of buying to rearing animals, cannot be changed, even under favorable circumstances for obtaining breeders, &c. in less than three years—& the war, & the dangers of every farmer's stock made the circumstances very unfavorable for a change. Therefore there has been little increase in the breeding of horses & mules—the supply by purchases from abroad totally cut off—the waste, by want of food & great hardships & abuse, in our army, made us destructive—as can be conceived—& the raids & robberies of the enemy, in addition, have stripped much of the country of the before diminished & insufficient stock of horses & mules for agricultural labors. This alone is a very serious subject for gloomy anticipations. . . ." *Diary of Edmund Ruffin*, X. 1817–1818 (August 13, 1863).

[10] For a brief account of the condition of the railroads in the Confederacy see the *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXII. 794–810.

[11] For a vivid description of the sufferings and losses of cavalry horses in both Federal and Confederate service see a letter from Charles Francis Adams, jr., to his mother, May 12, 1863, in *A Cycle of Adams Letters*, II., pp. 3–5.

the medical wagons, ambulances, and ammunition trains, and was apprehensive that he must reduce the artillery.[12] But he proceeded, nevertheless, to manoeuver Hooker out of Virginia into Maryland, and to take his own army into Pennsylvania.

As Lee moved north towards Gettysburg, the Federals endeavored to remove all horses from his reach; but he obtained some, though evidently not enough to replace those killed or worn out and left behind. When he was back in Virginia in the latter part of July, straining every resource to recover from that disastrous expedition, he again gave anxious consideration to the condition of his horses. All the animals were greatly weakened by the strain of the campaign. As the corn crop was not yet matured, grain was very difficult to get in northern Virginia; and the railroads could not deliver enough from the south. Fortunately, Meade crossed slowly into Virginia and kept out of striking distance east of the Blue Ridge, and Lee used the respite allowed him to send away to refreshment camps the horses that were utterly broken down.[13] But he was again reduced, practically, to immobility. On August 24, he wrote President Davis:

> Nothing prevents my advancing now [against Meade] but the fear of killing our artillery horses. They are much reduced, and the hot weather and scarce forage keeps them so. The cavalry also suffer and I fear to set them at work. Some days we get a pound of corn per horse and some days more; some none. Our limit is five per day per horse. You can judge of our prospects. . . . Everything is being done by me that can be to recruit the horses. I have been obliged to diminish the number of guns in the artillery, and fear I shall have to lose more.[14]

In October, when the local corn crop was available and his horses were in somewhat better condition, Lee moved against Meade's right and forced him back to the line of Bull Run; but as the country thereabouts was bare of supplies he returned to the Rapidan.

As the difficulty of procuring fresh horses increased, greater attention was given to the care of those disabled. Hitherto, it seems, these animals had been turned over at stated intervals to quartermaster officers or agents, who distributed them on pastures under the care of subordinates. Here they received little attention and were left to recover or die. They were seldom properly inspected by veterinaries, and diseased horses were often placed with the others with the result that the disease spread. The new plan adopted in the fall of 1863 seems to have originated with General W. N. Pendleton, Lee's chief of artillery. As the plan was worked out, the whole Confederacy was divided into four inspection districts for field transportation, under an inspector general at Richmond, Major A. H. Cole, who was on the staff of the quartermaster general. The First District, comprising Virginia and North Carolina, was placed under Major George Johnston.[15] The distinctive feature of the plan was the establishment of " horse infirmaries " under special officers. The infirmary headquarters for Virginia were placed at Lynchburg, under Major J. G. Paxton. As unserviceable horses and mules were withdrawn from the army, they were to be examined carefully, the diseased ones segregated, and the rest distributed under experienced caretakers in those counties about Lynchburg remote from army operations where feed and pasturage were most plentiful. The results of this system will be described later.

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[12] *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XXV., pt. 2, pp. 808, 809, 820, 825.

[13] Lee to J. A. Seddon, secretary of war, Aug. 7, 1863, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XXIX., pt. 2, p. 628. Lee to Longstreet, July 19, 1863, and "General Orders, no. 25" [Stuart's], July 29, 1863, *ibid.*, ser. I. v. XXVII., pt. 3, pp. 1024, 1050.

[14] *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XXIX., pt. 2, pp. 664–665. The Federal ration of grain to horses was ten pounds per day, though it probably averaged about eight. *Cycle of Adams Letters*, II. 3.

As the winter of 1863–1864 drew on, the perennial spectre of famine threatening men and animals again haunted Lee. Even with the army reduced by the absence of Longstreet's corps in Tennessee, the railroads were not bringing enough food. Moreover, large portions of the upper Virginia piedmont and the lower Valley were almost bare of grain and forage. The horses, overworked and underfed, were so poor they could hardly be used. In November, Meade threatened an advance across the Rappahannock—the route Grant took in May the next year—and Lee wrote Davis:

> Should he move in that direction, I will endeavor to follow him and bring him to battle, but I do not see how I can do it without the greatest difficulty. The country through which he [we?] will have to pass is barren. We have no forage on hand and very little prospect of getting any from Richmond. I fear our horses will die in great numbers, and, in fact, I do not know how they will survive two or three days' march without food.[16]

Fortunately, Meade did not push forward in earnest and, after the affair of Mine Run, the two armies settled down in winter quarters.

In August, 1863, Brigadier General A. R. Lawton, of Georgia, had become chief of the quartermaster's department, and new vigor was soon evident in that important bureau of supplies. Though the railroads could not be strengthened, their transportation service was more diligently supervised and the supply of corn from the Carolinas and Georgia flowed somewhat more steadily to the Virginia depots and camps. But it was never enough. Lee was obliged to monopolize the stocks of corn and forage near the Virginia railroads and the James River Canal; but this did not suffice and by December the horses were failing rapidly. To make the situation worse, the dreaded disease glanders appeared among them. The artillery horses were moved to fresh camps farther west. The cavalry, which must always be on the alert, was in a pitiful state.[17] So many of Wade Hampton's men were dismounted that he begged permission to move two brigades back to South Carolina to enable his men to procure new mounts—a proposal which Lee dared not adopt. When it was proposed that the cavalrymen be mounted on government horses, Lee remarked that he did not see how the horses could be procured, since not enough could be had for the artillery and transportation. An undated memorandum, evidently prepared by some officer in the field transportation service about this time, also opposed the proposition on similar grounds with the additional argument that the volunteer could purchase a horse through a friend or neighbor when the government agent could not, and that the soldier would take better care of his own than of a government horse.[18]

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[15] Pendleton to Lee, Aug. 13, 1863, and Pendleton to A. H. Cole, Sept. 3, 1863, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XXIX., pt. 2, pp. 643, 697. Order Book, Inspector of Field Transportation, Oct. 7, 1863, *et passim*, Confederate Archives.

[16] Lee to Davis, Nov. 12, 1863, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XXIX., pt. 2, p. 832.

The situation grew worse during the winter. On January 3, 1864, the commissary officer for Richmond reported that the entire stock of breadstuffs in that city had been exhausted and that no requisitions for Lee's army could be filled until the railroads from the south could increase their shipments.[19] Evidently the shipments were increased, but food remained scarce both in Richmond and in the camps. Worried over the scarcity of horses, Lee asked for fresh cavalry regiments said to be in South Carolina and Georgia, but did not get them. General J. E. B. Stuart pointed out that only well-to-do men could now buy horses for cavalry service. The heavy losses among cavalry horses are illustrated by a report of General Wade Hampton, on February 1, 1864, that although 2000 horses had been brought on to one of his brigades (Butler's) within the past year, besides many that had been captured, not 500 men could be mounted. In February Federal cavalry was raiding with impunity in the vicinity of Richmond because the Confederate cavalry, without forage for the jaded horses, was unable to follow the raiders.[20]

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[17] *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XXIX., pt. 2, p. 835. On the difficulty of foraging the cavalry, see H. B. McClellan to Wade Hampton, Nov. 11, 1863, and Thos. L. Rosser to T. G. Barker, Nov. 14, 1863, *ibid.*, ser. I. v. LI., pt. 2, pp. 783, 786.

[18] Hampton to Lee, Dec. 7, 1863, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XXIX., pt. 2, pp. 862-863. Lee to Davis, Nov. 29, *ibid.*, p. 853. Papers of Field Transportation Office, in Confederate Archives.

[19] "The reserve of flour and hard bread has been consumed, and the receipts of corn for the past week have been totally inadequate to our daily wants. The accumulations at Greensborough and Charlotte still remain unmoved, only fifty-four cars having arrived at Danville from Greensborough during a period of four days, while the wants of this Department alone demand the use of eighty cars for the same time." Maj. S. B. French to Col. L. B. Northrop, January 3, 1864. *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. LI., pt. 2, p. 808.

Under these conditions Lee had no choice but to remain on the defensive. In January, Longstreet, then near Knoxville, had suggested that Lee move forward in March toward Washington, while he himself should advance into Kentucky. Lee replied:

> . . . You know how exhausted the country is between here and the Potomac; there is nothing for man or horse. Everything must be carried. How is that to be done with weak transportation on roads in the condition we may expect in March? . . . After you get into Kentucky I suppose provisions can be obtained. But if saddles, etc. could be procured in time, where can the horses be? They cannot be obtained in this section of country, and, as far as my information extends, not in the Confederacy. . . .[21]

Even in the Shenandoah Valley the Confederate forces were unable to occupy the region north of Staunton because both the grain and the long forage there were exhausted. In April, Lee expressed a desire to strike boldly at the enemy on the Rappahannock; but both his artillery and cavalry horses were widely scattered for foraging and he could not bring them to the army because he could not feed them there. As spring opened, the horses were able to get some grass and clover, and they began to improve; but they were far from being in condition for the strenuous campaign that was impending. There was no grain in the country near the Rapidan; the railways could not bring a full supply; nor could the wagon trains haul enough from the depots to enable Lee to concentrate against the thrust which he knew Grant was preparing. At this critical time the ordnance bureau proposed to solve Lee's difficulty about artillery horses by taking away some of his artillery.[22]

When Grant crossed the Rapidan with his well-equipped army early in May, Lee gathered his forces as rapidly as possible and struck the Federal advance in the Wilderness. Until the last minute possible he had been obliged to keep his army scattered in order to feed it. In the campaigns which followed, around to the Richmond and Petersburg fronts, the loss of horses both from the casualties of battle and from overwork was extraordinarily heavy. By the end of May many of the field batteries were practically out of service through lack of horses.[23] Although some fresh animals were obtained, the quartermaster general sent back a requisition for artillery horses with the suggestion " that the proportion of field artillery be reduced " because of " the great scarcity of animals throughout the Confederacy and the necessity of having enough for agricultural purposes ".[24] But the cavalry, still dependent for remounts upon personal purchases by the men, was in worse plight. Not only had the losses been heavy and the replacements scanty, but the horses remaining were so badly broken down by hard riding and lack of forage that they were incapable of long marches.[25] Grant's cavalry, now under Sheridan, was active and aggressive as well as numerically superior. Wade

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[20] Lee to Seddon, Jan. 23, 1864, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XXXIII. 1118; also, inspection report of S. W. Melton to S. Cooper, Mar. 14, *ibid.*, v. LI., pt. 2, pp. 835–837; Stuart to S. Cooper, Jan. 28, *ibid.*, v. XXXIII. 1126; report of Hampton, *ibid.*, p. 1140; Hampton to Lee, Feb. 12, and Lee to Elzey, Feb. 18, *ibid.*, pp. 1152, 1185.

[21] A. L. Long, *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee*, pp. 637–638.

[22] J. D. Imboden to J. A. Early, Feb. 22, 1864, Lee to Davis, April 15, and Lee to Bragg, April 16, 1864, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XXXIII. 1194–1195, 1282–1283, 1285.

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[23] Reports of John Esten Cooke to Pendleton, May 25 and 29, 1864, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XXXVI., pt. 3, pp. 830, 847.

P. W. Alexander, army correspondent of the Savannah *Republican* and an unusually frank and reliable writer, wrote his paper on July 29, 1864: "Just after the battle of the Wilderness the railway lines in Lee's rear were cut by the enemy, and his animals reduced almost to starvation. The county of Spottsylvania is poor, and there was no grass for the horses, which suffered so much that it was with great difficulty they could draw the wagons and artillery when the army moved. Under these threatening circumstances, the people in that and the neighboring counties, who had already paid their tithes and been stripped of nearly everything they had, were applied to by the authorities to *loan* the Government all the corn and other supplies they could spare. The response was unanimous: The heroic men and women said Lee's brave army should have all that was necessary to carry them over the difficulty, even if they had to go without themselves. . . . Thus Lee's hands were held up until the great battles of Spottsylvania were fought. . . ." Savannah *Republican*, August 5, 1864. It is unnecessary to point out the hazards of an army which in such circumstances must rely upon such expedients.

[24] Endorsement of A. R. Lawton, June 28, 1864, Quartm. Gen.'s Office, " Letters Received and endorsements ", v. XI., no. 158, Confederate Archives.

[25] On May 27, after noting down accounts of the burning of houses and barns, destruction of food supplies, and the stealing or killing of animals, etc., by Federal raiders, Edmund Ruffin penned this reflection: "If this policy of the enemy is permitted to proceed . . . & Grant will hold off from giving battle to any army opposed to him, the result must be the reduction of Richmond & of Va., not by arms, but by starvation of the country & destitution of our armies. . . . Our cavalry is almost worthless for fighting, because of the broken-down condition of a large proportion of the horses, & the inability to replace them from any surplus stock of the country, & the impossibility of providing half enough provender. Yet, the Yankees, by plundering, take every serviceable horse left for agricultural & private uses, & provide themselves abundantly with forage, even from the most destitute localities. . . ." *Diary of Edmund Ruffin*, XII. 2124. A month later he recorded the failure of Confederate cavalry to pursue some Federal raiders and commented: "This is regularly the case in all raids of the enemy. They, by stealing fresh horses, & other facilities, are able to keep better mounted, & their horses better fed, & cannot often be overtaken, or matched in battle, by our cavalry, on half-starved & failing horses. . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 2178.

Hampton, worthy successor to the lamented "Jeb" Stuart, was taxed to the uttermost to ward off Sheridan's thrusts at Lee's lines of communications.

Although Lee had gained some advantages by the removal to the new front on the Richmond-Petersburg line, they did not fully compensate him for the new difficulties which he now had to face. He had shortened his railway connection with the Carolinas and Georgia, whence most of his supplies must come; and the region immediately south and west of Richmond was not so completely denuded of foodstuffs as was that near the Rapidan. But because of the long line of works he was obliged to defend with his relatively small army, he could not attack Grant and was deprived of any favorable opportunity for offensive manoeuver. He did not fear a frontal attack; but he was fully aware of the danger to his railway communications on his flanks. He must depend upon his cavalry to guard, on the one side, the Virginia Central Railroad, lest his communications with the Shenandoah Valley be broken, and on the other, the Petersburg and Weldon road, which connected him with the seaboard of the Carolinas. This last was the most efficient of all the roads which carried supplies to his army, but it was also the most exposed to attack. The Southside Railroad, running west from Petersburg to Lynchburg, and the Richmond and Danville were better protected, but they were both "neighborhood" railroads and were too weak to stand heavy traffic.[26] The Richmond and Danville had recently been connected with western North Carolina by means of the newly built Piedmont Railroad (Greensboro to Danville); but so frail was the Piedmont, a badly constructed narrow gauge, that it could bring to Danville only small shipments, which had to be reloaded for forwarding to Richmond. Every heavy rain washed out track or bridges, and it was necessary to put on wagon-trains between Greensboro and Danville to supplement the efforts of the little railroad. If Grant should break his southern communications, Lee would be forced out of Richmond and must move back toward the piedmont region of North Carolina. But Richmond was the only railroad center of strategic importance north of Columbia, South Carolina, and the loss of its foundries, shops, factories, and supply depots would be disastrous, to say nothing of the effect which the loss of the capital must have upon public morale. Moreover, it was a question whether, with his transportation facilities so weak, he could withdraw successfully.

Grant, of course, saw the situation just as clearly as Lee. Early in June, even before he had touched the James, he ordered Hunter up from western Virginia to attack Lynchburg and sent Sheridan with a heavy force of cavalry to strike the Virginia Central and coöperate with Hunter. If successful, they would break Lee's western and northwestern communications. Hunter was repulsed; and Sheridan was checked at Trevilian's Station by Wade Hampton. Late in June, with his base firmly established on the James and a secure line of communication by water, Grant sent Wilson on another raid south of Petersburg across the Weldon road and against the Southside and Danville lines. Though he was severely handled, Wilson did some damage. A few days later, July 5, Lee wrote to Jefferson Davis that the numerical superiority of the enemy's cavalry caused him serious apprehensions about the safety of his southern communications, and that if these were lost he "need not point out the consequences". He did not know where any reënforcements could be had, but suggested that horses might be brought from Texas by swimming the Mississippi, and that others might be obtained from within the enemy's lines in western and northwestern Virginia by bartering cotton and tobacco for them. Upon "obtaining an increase of our supply of horses, and recruiting our cavalry . . . I believe, depends the issue of the campaign in Va."[27] Nothing could be more significant than this statement, with the proposal to get the needed horses from the enemy's territory and from far-off Texas.

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[26] A. R. Lawton to Lee, June 23, 1864, Quartm. Gen.'s Letter Book, VIII. 308.

The damages done to the railroads by the Federal cavalry raids were soon repaired, and Grant did not repeat this experiment. His own losses in horses had been severe, and possibly he had found it difficult for his cavalry to operate very far within Confederate territory where grain was scarce. But he continued his attacks on the Weldon railroad and, after several failures, at length got footing on it in August. Lee could not dislodge him; but through the energetic and resourceful efforts of Quartermaster General Lawton wagon-trains were sent around the break and supplies continued to come through from the south. But the wagons could not bring as much as the railroad had brought, and the margin above absolute destitution became perilously small. No surplus of corn could be accumulated for the coming winter. To send by railroad bulky articles like hay or fodder for the horses was out of the question. There was little grass or clover in the wooded area in which the army now lay, and, whenever the situation permitted, both artillery and cavalry horses were sent back to better pasturage.[28]

The most energetic efforts failed to obtain a sufficient supply of fresh horses and mules during the summer. The farmers who had not been robbed of their teams during the Federal cavalry raids had barely enough left for harvesting their crops and planting their fall wheat. In those Virginia counties subject to Federal raids many farmers were without any horses at all that were fit to work, and they were now calling upon the government to supply them with others.[29] The schedule prices for both horses and grain as fixed by the impressment commissioners, for government purchases, in Virginia and North Carolina were so far below market prices that farmers were unwilling to part with the few horses or the scanty grain still left them, even for Lee's army. The market value of good horses and mules, fit for army use, in the summer of 1864 seems to have varied from $1500 to $2500 (Confederate currency); the average impressment price was $500, except during the month of July, when it was $1000. General T. H. Holmes, commanding in North Carolina, complained that he was obliged to pay $4000 " for a very common one " for his personal use.[30] Impressment officers were directed to make an estimate of all horses and mules on each farm, not absolutely necessary to make the growing crop, and to take the surplus, seizing pleasure horses first.[31]

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[27] Douglas S. Freeman, *Lee's Confidential Dispatches to Davis*, p. 273.

[28] Lee to Hampton, July 22, 1864, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XXXVII., pt. 2, p. 598; inspection report of H. E. Peyton to S. Cooper, Sept. 23, 1864, *ibid.*, v. XLII., pt. 2, pp. 1270–1278.

[29] Wm. A. Staples, a farmer of Bedford County, Virginia, wrote to Secretary Seddon, August 12, 1864: " Hunter's men on their late Raid stayed three days on me taking 3 Negro men all my Horses oxen fat cattle Bacon Corn Flour Sugar Coffee Molasses all Harness Saddles Bridles all our clothes breaking crockery ware. . . . I own a Farm 450 acres on the R. R. in the finest district of Bedford, work 9 hands—have 100 acres Clover to fallow for Wheat but have only two Horses & they old broken down ones I found left by the enemy. I have no money to buy Teams takes all to pay expenses & for provisions until Fall. No horses are for sale if I had money. I heard that the Gov't turn over Horses to those who lost by the enemy. I have waited until now the last moment. If you can give me an order on Maj. Paxton Q M at Lynchburg (agent for all this section has control of several thousand Govt Horses at pasture) for 3 Horses I can now fallow and seed 100 Bus. Wheat on finest land here if the Horses are good Farm Horses. No others are of any value. It would be to the interest of the Gov't. . . ." When this request was referred to Major Paxton he replied that he had no horses to spare. Quartm. Gen.'s " Letters Received ", Confederate Archives.

[30] Sixteen horses taken by Hunter's men in June from Mrs. M. C. Massie, of Nelson County, were appraised, under oath, by three neighbors at an average valuation of $1450; but several of them were evidently not fit for the army. The highest single valuation was $2500. Massie Papers, in the University of Texas Library. For schedule of prices, see *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XL., pt. 3, pp. 766–769; v. XLII., pt. 2, pp. 1151–1155; also, Lt. Gen. T. H. Holmes to A. H. Cole, July 22, 1864, Quartm. Gen.'s " Letters Received ", in Confederate Archives.

[31] " You will take pains to impress upon the citizens the urgent demand there now exists in Gen. Lee's Army, for horses and mules. There are now many Batteries of Artillery inactive for the want of horses to pull them; and entire Brigades are without the necessary teams to supply them with provisions." Jas. N. Edmonson, Inspector Field Transportation, Greensboro, N. C., to Capt. C. R. King, June 20, 1864. *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, III. 398 (Hamilton ed., Raleigh, 1920).

When the summer of 1864 had drawn to an end, more than one-fourth of the cavalrymen were still dismounted and infantrymen who could procure horses were being transferred to the cavalry.[32] Many batteries of the field artillery were without any horses at all. These batteries were put into the defenses, but their immobility was a serious matter when a shift was necessary to meet an attack at another point. Lee called the attention of the secretary of war to the scarcity and inferiority of the artillery horses, and asked whether there was any prospect of relief. Seddon answered that the quartermaster general would endeavor to get horses from within the enemy's lines and mules from Mexico. General Lawton and Colonel A. H. Cole, inspector general of field transportation, did in fact investigate the Mexican market and learned that the prospects for a supply of mules were good, provided that a discreet and reliable agent were sent with gold or sterling exchange.[33] Dilatoriness either in the war department or in the treasury delayed the selection of an agent until February, 1865, when it was too late. Meanwhile there was no relief. The cavalry was so depleted by December that Longstreet advised that the men be mounted on mules. For various reasons few "recruited" animals were being returned from the horse infirmaries.

The horse and mule infirmary established in the Lynchburg region in October, 1863, had not succeeded as well as had been hoped for, but probably as well as was possible under all the circumstances. The difficulty was that no animals were sent to it until exhausted. Many of these had developed glanders and had to be killed; of the others many were too exhausted to recover. A report of the officer in charge, Major J. G. Paxton, on February 6, 1865, states that during the whole period of approximately fifteen months, he had received 6875 horses, of which only 1057 had been recruited and returned to the army, 2844 had died, 133 had been lost or stolen, 559 had been condemned and sold, 799 had been transferred to an infirmary in North Carolina, and the rest, 1483, were still unserviceable. Of mules, 2885 had been received, of which 1644 had been recruited and returned, 575 had died, a few had been sold as hopeless, and the rest were still unrecruited.[34] The mules made a much better showing than the horses, for while only 15 per cent. of the horses had been returned to service, 57 per cent. of the mules had recovered. Paxton estimated that the average life of a horse in the artillery and transportation services was seven and a half months, and that a mule was five times more durable than a horse. But the mortality among artillery horses was much greater than in the transportation service and it was heavier still in the cavalry. Paxton claimed that he and his agents had purchased or impressed during the fifteen months 4929 horses and mules in Virginia at an average price of $524.20, and that he had had great difficulty in getting the funds with which to pay for them. His estimate of the number of animals required in Lee's army and neighboring posts for artillery and transportation was 7000 horses and 14,000 mules every fifteen months. His figures can not be verified, but an estimate of the animals in all varieties of transportation service in that army on November 4, 1864, gives 1321 horses and 12,316 mules. This does not include cavalry mounts or artillery horses. By December, 1864, corn and forage for only about 1000 horses could be provided in the region about Lynchburg and to the south of it in Virginia. About 600 were quartered in northern North Carolina, and it was planned to send 1000 more into the southern part of that state until it was learned that the commissary officers claimed all the surplus grain there.[35] At the date of Paxton's report, February 6, 1865, more than 4000 cavalry horses from Lee's army were in infirmaries in South Carolina, mostly in Lancaster County.

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[32] Abstract from return, cavalry corps, Sept. 30, 1864, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XLII., pt. 2, p. 1309; see also, Wade Hampton to Lee, Oct. 24, and Nov. 2, 1864, *ibid.*, pt. 3, pp. 1161–1162, 1198–1199.

[33] Lee to Seddon, Oct. 4, and Seddon to Lee, Oct. 5, 1864, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XLII., pt. 3, pp. 1134, 1135–1136; Levin Lake, Meridian, Miss., to Maj. A. M. Paxton, Oct. 28, 1864, forwarded to Gen. A. R. Lawton, Quartm. Gen.'s "Letters Received", Confederate Archives; also, endorsements of A. R. Lawton, Nov. 11 and 13, 1864, Quartm. Gen.'s "Letters Received and Endorsements", XII., nos. 157, 202, Confederate Archives; and A. H. Cole to Lawton, Nov. 17, 1864, "Letters Received", *ibid.*

When the winter of 1864 closed down on Lee's army the familiar difficulties of finding food and forage were infinitely worse than ever. The Shenandoah Valley, devastated by Sheridan, could furnish nothing, and horses there were dying of starvation by hundreds on the farms. All the country within reach of the army was swept bare of supplies. Since the currency was worthless, the purchasing officers and agents could not buy provisions with it and were forced to resort to barter or impressment; but the country along the railroads had already been combed and the scarcity there was so extreme that not even coin could have procured enough food for the army. Nor could the worn and crippled railroads have brought enough if there had been no scarcity in the Carolinas. The men were on one-fourth rations and some days had none at all. The winter was extremely severe upon both men and animals. The hungry and half-frozen men were deserting in large numbers; but the famished horses could only die unless removed. In January, Lee had to diminish his cavalry still further by sending Butler's division to South Carolina to get fresh horses which were to be collected by the government.[36] General Hampton also went down to superintend recruiting. Neither he nor Butler's division ever returned to Lee, for they were retained to operate against Sherman.[37] Unserviceable cavalry horses to the number of 2700 were sent to the same state at about the same time to be foraged; but they had to be scattered over a wide territory far back from the railroads where the tithe-gathering officers did not operate zealously. Lee had now only two weak divisions of cavalry with his army. In order to procure forage, the greater part of W. H. F. Lee's division had to be sent forty miles away, by the roads, to Stony Creek, beyond the gap in the Weldon railroad on the south. Here the horses were kept in fair condition; but they were too far away to be of use in emergencies, and they could not be fed when brought up to the army. Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry, on the left flank and north of the James, was farther from supplies, and the horses were in such bad condition that they were unfit for hard service. The artillery animals were sent back, only a few being left with the guns. The men of some of the field batteries were sent to the heavy guns in the fortifications because their own batteries could not be supplied with horses.[38] Because of the weakness of the cavalry which guarded his flanks, Lee was obliged to extend his already too thin lines. In the face of an active and aggressive enemy this was dangerous business, but there was nothing else to do. He saw clearly what was in store for him, and repeatedly pointed out that he could not continue to hold Richmond without more men and horses and food. The government, however, was really helpless. The purchasing officers had to contend not only with an actual scarcity of supplies but also with a collapsed currency which paralyzed every effort.

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[34] This report is in manuscript among the Personal Papers of Jas. G. Paxton, Confederate Archives.

[35] Summary statement in Personal Papers of Major George Johnston, Confederate Archives. Johnston was chief inspector of field transportation at Richmond. J. G. Paxton to Q. M. G. O., "Letters Received", Confederate Archives. The letter is undated but is found with others of December, 1864.

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[36] M. G. Harman to R. M. T. Hunter and A. T. Caperton, Jan. 17, 1865, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XLVI., pt. 2, p. 1110. Lee to Seddon, Jan. 11, *ibid.*, p. 1035. Lee to Cooper, Jan. 19, *ibid.*, p. 1100; also "Special Orders, no. 8" [Hampton's], *ibid.*, p. 1101.

[37] General Hampton failed to procure sufficient funds for the horses he needed; and on February 2, the presidents of eight state banks met at Columbia in the office of Governor Magrath and agreed to advance to the state $1,000,000 for the purchase of horses for Hampton. Printed circular agreement in "South Carolina: Letters Received by the Governor", Confederate Archives.

[38] J. G. Paxton to A. R. Lawton, Jan. 27, 1865, "Personal Papers of Jas. G. Paxton", Confederate Archives. Inspection report of Maj. Geo. Freaner, March 1, 1865, MS. in Confederate Archives. W. N. Pendleton to T. H. Carter, Jan. 17, 1865, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XLVI., pt. 2, pp. 1083–1084. Pendleton to W. H. Taylor, March 18, 1865, *ibid.*, pt. 3, pp. 1322–1324.

It was now proposed to change the law which required the cavalrymen to furnish their own mounts. One evil in the existing system was that whenever a man was dismounted he had to be furloughed home in order to find another horse. In consequence, many men were long absent from service when needed at the front. In order to get the cherished furloughs some of the homesick men deliberately disabled their own horses. With the approval of the officers most concerned with the problem, a bill was introduced into the Confederate Congress on December 29, 1864, to require the quartermaster general to provide horses for dismounted cavalrymen and to purchase the horses of any cavalry unit upon recommendation of the general commanding in the field.[39] The bill passed both houses on February 14 and was approved by Jefferson Davis on February 23. It is doubtful whether it was ever put into effect at all; but at that late day it could not have relieved the situation to any appreciable extent.

If the prospect for fresh horses had been bad in the early winter, it was desperate by the end of January. General Pendleton, chief of artillery, suggested that the unserviceable horses be turned over to the farmers in return for good horses impressed. This would save the scanty stock of forage in the recruiting depots. "The question of our horse supply", he said, "is hardly second to that of supplying men for the army, or food for the men."[40] Major A. H. Cole, who was charged with the duty of providing horses and mules for artillery and transportation service for all the armies east of the Mississippi, had been making estimates of the number of animals that would be required and canvassing the means of procuring them. In two communications to General Lawton, written the same day, February 1, he reviewed the situation. He estimated that the armies would require for the spring service some 6000 additional horses and 4500 mules. The number to be had by impressment would depend upon how many could be taken safely from agriculture. Evidently Cole thought that no more could be taken from that source, for, as already stated, he suggested that all should be procured from within the enemy's lines and from Mexico. He thought that 5000 could be got from regions occupied by the Federals east of the Mississippi—3000 from within Mississippi and 2000 from Virginia and North Carolina. In the last two states gold or United States currency would be necessary; and prices would range from $60 in gold for first class, to $40 for second class, animals. In Mississippi cotton must be furnished the purchasing agents at the rate of 600 pounds for first class horses, and the agents must be allowed to work without interference from the treasury officials. Gold or sterling exchange would be essential in Mexico. Some exchange had been furnished in December, but the failure to appoint a suitable agent had made it useless.[41]

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[39] A. H. Cole to A. R. Lawton, December 24, 1864. Quartm. Gen.'s "Letters Received", Confederate Archives. *Journals of the Confederate Congress*, vol. 7 (House Journal), 400, 419, 513, 543-544, 577, 650; vol. 4 (Senate Journal), 498-499, 544. The law was never officially printed and portions only appear in the *Journals*.

[40] W. N. Pendleton to A. H. Cole, Feb. 7, 1865, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XLVI., pt. 2, p. 1208.

On February 14, Cole estimated that the calls for horses and mules for *immediate* service in Virginia and North Carolina alone aggregated 3200 horses and 2400 mules. At the same time he was expected to furnish 2650 animals for the forces gathering in the Carolinas to oppose the northward march of Sherman. There was no time to look beyond the Mississippi. There was no other recourse but to impress from the scanty supply of the farmers, for which $3,000,000 in currency was necessary at once, and to purchase from across the lines, for which $100,000 in gold was essential. The attitude of the farmers as well as that of the state officials made impressment a failure. A week later Cole advised Lee that he was getting no animals whatever for the army for the reason that he had received no gold from the treasury. When General Lee suggested that the government convert its cotton and tobacco into gold for this purpose, the secretary of the treasury insisted that the effort had been made to do so and promised that it would be continued. The government had now, however, been reduced to the slow process of barter and was really unable to act promptly. The only evidence found that any of the gold was ever furnished is an order of Cole, on March 7, turning over $2000 in coin to a bonded agent for the purchase of animals within the enemy's lines.[42]

No evidence has been found that Lee ever received any of the horses he called for in February and March. Again and again he called the attention of the secretary of war to his perilous situation and begged for food and forage for the army. In his famous letter of March 9 in which he reviewed the military situation with vivid frankness, he said:

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[41] *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. LXVI., pt. 2, pp. 1190–1191; also, *ibid.*, ser. IV. v. III. 1087–1089.

[42] A. H. Cole to Lawton, Feb. 14, and Cole to Col. Corley, with endorsements, Feb. 20, 1865, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XLVI., pt. 2, pp. 1232–1233, 1242–1243. Order Book of A. H. Cole, Inspector General of Field Transportation, p. 48, Confederate Archives.

> Unless the men and animals can be subsisted, the army cannot be kept together, and our present lines must be abandoned. Nor can it be moved to any other position where it can operate to advantage without provisions to enable it to move in a body.[43]

Although he knew that Grant was preparing to turn his right at Hatcher's Run, he still had to keep his little cavalry force on that wing down at Stony Creek, miles away, because he could not subsist it at the danger point. Late in March Pendleton found it impossible to bring up the horses for the artillery because they could not be fed, and reported that the artillery must be reduced because of the lack of horses.[44] When a few days later Sheridan's heavy force crashed through the weak Confederate right flank at Five Forks, there was only a small cavalry force left to oppose him. Lee later attributed the disaster in part to the absence of the cavalry units which had been sent to the interior to winter their horses and had not rejoined the army.[45]

With his flank turned and his remaining communications about to be cut, Lee began at once the withdrawal which he had long foreseen must be made. It would have been a difficult operation with his animals in good condition; but now at the end of a severe winter when they were weak and slow from exposure and starvation it was a desperate undertaking. Only the stronger teams were able to take out wagon trains and guns, and on the forced marches without food they soon broke down. The cavalry could not keep pace with the better horses of Sheridan. At the end of a week what was left of a proud army was surrounded and the long struggle was over.

The University of Texas. CHARLES W. RAMSDELL.

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[43] Lee to Breckenridge, March 9, 1865, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XLVI., pt. 2, p. 1295.

[44] Pendleton to W. H. Taylor, March 18, Pendleton to Chew, March 20, 1865, *Offic. Rec.*, ser. I. v. XLVI., pt. 3, pp. 1322, 1327.

[45] "The absence of the troops which I had sent to North and South Carolina, was I believe, the cause of our immediate disaster. Our small force of cavalry (a large portion of the men, who had been sent to the interior to winter their horses, had not rejoined their regiments,) was unable to resist the united Federal Cavalry, under Sheridan, which obliged me to detach Pickett's Division to Fitz Lee's support, thereby weakening my main line, and yet not accomplishing my purpose. If you had been there with all of our cavalry, the result at Five Forks would have been different. But how long the contest would have been prolonged, it is difficult to say. . . ." R. E. Lee to Wade Hampton, August 1, 1865, printed in Wade Hampton, *Address on the Life and Character of Gen. Robert E. Lee*, etc., p. 45 (Baltimore, 1871).

CHINESE HISTORICAL STUDIES DURING THE PAST NINE YEARS

In the issue of the *American Historical Review* for July, 1921, I attempted to summarize the progress of Chinese historical studies during the preceding seven years. China has continued to loom so large in the events of the world that an enormous mass of literature on her has appeared since that article was written. Much of this is purely ephemeral and will have value to the historian of the future only as evidence of the trends of thought on her problems, both within and outside the country. There is, however, much that is the product of solid scholarship. Even some that is not so carefully done is useful to the historian for the light that it sheds on recent events.

First of all, it must be recorded that Chinese scholars are continuing to make noteworthy contributions to the study of their own history.[1]

Two of the outstanding achievements are additions to the dynastic histories, those well-known records of China's past, which, beginning with Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih Chi,* have, in voluminous form, carried the nation's story from its beginning to the close of the Ming dynasty. The two new ones are of the Yüan (Mongol) and of the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasties. The older official history of the Yüan is highly unsatisfactory, for it was hastily put together at the beginning of the Ming. The new one (*Hsin Yüan Shih*), in sixty volumes, is very much better. It is by K'e Shao-min, and, circulated previously as a private work, about seven or eight years ago was made official. The history of the Ch'ing (in one hundred volumes) is modestly called the *Ch'ing Shih Kao,* or Draft History of the Ch'ing, because it has not yet been formally approved by the government. Its quality is questioned. It is, however, meant to be final, and it is the work of the historiographical bureau established in the early years of the republic for that special purpose. The biographical material from the *Ch'ing Shih Kao* has been brought together in a separate work of eighty volumes and given the title *Ch'ing Shih Lieh Chüan.*

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[1] For most of the information concerning the work of Chinese scholars in Chinese I am indebted to Mr. Arthur W. Hummel, chief of the Chinese Division of the Library of Congress, who has gone to great pains to prepare a summary. Useful additional notes have been kindly provided by Professor William Hung, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. See also an article by Mr. Hummel, What Chinese Historians are doing in their Own History, in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, July, 1929, pp. 715–724.

Chinese scholars are paying much attention to historical method. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, recently deceased, who has held so influential a place in progressive Chinese thought during the past thirty years, in *Chung-kuo Li-shih Yen-chiu Fa* (Methods of Studying Chinese History) [2] and in his Collected Lectures (*Hsüeh Shu Chiang Yen Chi*) [3] made suggestions for new avenues of approach to the study of Chinese history which have had great influence upon younger scholars. His *Yao Chi Chieh T'i Chi Ch'i Tu Fa* (Methods of Studying Important Classical Books), published in 1925 by the Ts'ing-hua *Weekly Press*, is a series of lectures on the historicity of the chief literary remains of Chinese antiquity. Better than any other one work it summarizes the results and problems confronting the criticism of classical literature. In *Ch'ing Tai Hsüeh Shu Kai Lun* (Critical Scholarship of the Ch'ing Dynasty) [4] Liang Ch'i-ch'ao has given a condensed account of critical scholarship of most of the creative minds of China in the past three centuries.

The brilliant Hu Shih, who combines excellent training in Chinese with the best our American universities can offer, is having a profound effect upon Chinese historical studies. His collected works have been published in Shanghai (in 1921 and 1924) as *Hu Shih Wên Ts'un* and *Ya Tung T'u Shu Kuan.* Unfortunately the only work by him on Chinese history which has appeared in English is his *Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China.*[5]

Both Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Hu Shih have continued the traditions of the so-called Han Learning School which flourished in the eighteenth century and which in its attempt to discover what was the primitive Confucianism developed and applied excellent critical methods to the older Chinese texts. Hu Shih's *Chang Shih-chai Hsien-sheng Nien-p'u* (Biographical Sketch of Chang Shih-chai) [6] is a biography of a great eighteenth century historian of that school and throws much light on the critical methods of the time.

Dr. Hu Shih has inspired Professor Ku Chieh-kang, of Chung Shan University, Canton. Professor Ku's most notable work to date is his *Ku Shih Pien* (Critical Exposition of Ancient Chinese History),[7] in which he contends that the *Shih Ching* contains the oldest and most reliable literature for China's earlier antiquity, and that the traditionally very old sections of the *Shu Ching* date only from the fourth and fifth centuries B. C. This book is, fortunately, being translated into English by Mr. Arthur W. Hummel.

Chih Wei-ch'êng's *Ching Tai P'u Hsüeh Ta Shih Lieh Chüan* (Biographical Studies of the Critical Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty)[8] is useful for the light it sheds on the scholarship of the Ch'ing period.

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[2] Shanghai, 1922, 1925.
[3] Shanghai, 3 vols., 1922, 1923, 1925.
[4] Shanghai, 1921, 1925.
[5] Shanghai, 1922.
[6] Shanghai, 1922.
[7] Peking, 1926.

General histories of China, some of them attempting to apply the historical methods set forth in the above works, are appearing. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao did not live to complete his elaborate history of Chinese civilization, but certain sections of it were published in his *Chung-kuo Li-shih Yen-chiu Fa,* mentioned above, and in his *Shê Hui P'ien. Pen Kuo Shih* (Chinese History), by Ku Chieh-kang and Wang Chung-ch'i, although merely a textbook for secondary schools, because it embodies the critical methods of Ku Chieh-kang, is eminently worth noticing.

Although the Chinese have produced excellent summary descriptions of their voluminous literature, there has been a singular lack of what might be called histories of Chinese literature. Several rather sketchy preliminary surveys of this character have recently appeared. Dr. Hu Shih, with his usual diligence and skill, in *Kuo-yü Wên-hsüeh Shih* (History of Chinese Vernacular Literature)[9] has gathered a surprising wealth of material showing the place of the vernacular in the Chinese literature of the past fifteen centuries, and its development into the "national language" or "plain speech" movement of the past decade.

In the history of Chinese philosophy many studies have lately been published, for a great ferment of philosophical thought has been in progress in China. Of these, the most noteworthy is still Dr. Hu Shih's *Chung-kuo Chê-hsüeh Shih Ta Kang* (Outline History of Chinese Philosophy),[10] only the first volume of which, bringing the story down to Han times, has so far appeared.[11] Dr. Hu Shih also has a one volume study of Tai Tung-yüan's (Tai Chên's) philosophy,[12] Tai Tung-yüan being one of the eighteenth century scholars who revolted against the then dominant school of Chu Hsi. Liang Su-ming, one of the most influential of recent Chinese writers, has a notable work, *Tung Hsi Wên-hua Chi Ch'i Chê-hsüeh* (Comparison of Eastern and Western Cultures and Philosophies),[13] which has been widely read in China. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's *Hsien Ch'in Chêng-chih Ssŭ-hsiang Shih* (History of Pre-Ch'in Political Thought)[14] is probably the best work on Chinese political thinking of the Chou dynasty and earlier.[15]

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[8] Shanghai, 1925. [9] Peking, 1927. [10] Shanghai, 1919, 1925.

[11] An important criticism of this, by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, is to be found in the latter's Collected Lectures, already mentioned.

[12] Shanghai, 1927. [13] Shanghai, 1921. [14] Shanghai, 1922.

[15] An extract from it dealing with the interesting school of the Legalists has been translated into French by J. Escarra and R. Germain, with a preface by G. Padoux, under the title *La Conception de la Loi et les Théories des Légistes à la Veille des Ts'in* (Peking, 1926).

Under the history of foreign relations a flood of material has appeared, as is to be expected from the heated propaganda which that subject has evoked during the nationalist movement of the past few years. As is natural, moreover, most of this is violently biased. Two works worth mentioning are *Chung-Kuo Chin-shih Wai-chiao Shih* (History of Chinese Foreign Relations) [16] by Liu Yen, which, on its first appearance some fifteen years ago, seems to have been the first work of its kind in Chinese, and *Chung Jih Chiao Shê Shih* (History of Sino-Japanese Relations),[17] also by Liu Yen and probably the ablest Chinese treatment of the subject.

In archæology, the two outstanding names of the present generation are Lo Chên-yü and Wang Kuo-wei. The former has to his credit nearly four hundred volumes, dealing with inscriptions on bronze and stone, with the inscribed bones discovered a few years ago in Honan, with recent finds in the sands of Turkestan, with ancient manuscript books, with seals, tallies, tiles, pottery, and with other related subjects. Some of these were printed in Japan and others in Mr. Lo's own establishment. Wang Kuo-wei, who came to his tragic end in June, 1927, at the age of fifty-one, wrote voluminously and with careful exactness on such subjects as the inscribed bones of Honan, measures of length of the various dynasties, rare books, Yüan drama, and Chin and Yüan history. The Geological Bureau of the Ministry of Communications and the National Museum of History have also issued important monographs and bulletins on archæological subjects.

A good many specialized investigations after the Western manner are appearing, some of them representing initial ventures in their fields and necessarily having the defects of pioneering efforts.[18]

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[16] Shanghai, rev. ed., 1921.

[17] Shanghai, 1921.

[18] Among these monographs are *Chung-kuo Yü-shih Chih-tu-ti Yen Kê* (Evolution of the Censorship in China, Shanghai, 1926) by Kao I-han; *Chung-kuo Ku-tai Fa-li Hsüeh* (Jurisprudence in Ancient China, Shanghai, 1925) by Wang Chên-hsien; *Chung-kuo Ku-tai Hun-yin Shih* (History of Marriage in Ancient China, 3d ed., Shanghai, 1925) by Ch'ên Ku-yüan; *Hsien Ch'in Ching-chi Ssŭ-hsiang Shih* (History of Economic Thought in Ancient China, Shanghai, 1926) by Kan Nai-huang; *Chung-kuo Hsiao-shuo Shih* (History of Chinese Novels, Soochow, 1927) by Fan Yen-ch'iao; *T'ai P'ing T'ien-kuo Yeh Shih* (Unofficial History of the T'ai P'ing Rebellion, Shanghai, 1923) edited by Ling Shan-ch'ing, a valuable source book by an unknown author, the manuscript of which came to light in 1912; *K'aifeng Tz'ŭ Le Yeh Chiao K'ao* (The Jews of K'aifeng, Shanghai, 1923) by Ch'ên Yüan, chancellor of the new Roman Catholic university in Peking, whose studies on Nestorianism, Manichæism, and Zoroastrianism in China are well known; *Chung-kuo T'i-yü Shih* (History of Physical Education in China, Shanghai, 1919, 1923) by Kuo Hsi-fan; and *Chung Hsi Hui Shih Jih Li* (Comparative Daily Calendar of Chinese, European, and Moslem History, 5 vols.) by Ch'ên Yüan, a correlation of the Chinese, Moslem, and Western calendars such as Western scholars have long had in *Variétés Sinologiques*, no. XXIX.

Periodicals also contain articles of importance for historical studies.[19]

Historical studies written by Chinese in foreign languages, and especially in English and French, are rapidly increasing in number. Most of these are by younger men, either still students abroad or recently so. Young China is so absorbed in political issues, and those studying in other lands in particular are so exercised over injustices, fancied and real, perpetrated on China by foreign powers, that most of the historical treatises in foreign languages are on China's international relations. As is almost inevitable, moreover, none of them entirely escapes an intense nationalistic bias, and some of them are in the nature of propaganda. In spite of their bias, however, some of these monographs have scholarly value and all of them are of interest as showing the Chinese viewpoint. Among the best in English are Ge-Zay Wood, *The Shantung Question: a Study in Diplomacy and World Politics,*[20] written about the time of the Washington Conference and setting forth a Chinese attitude; three volumes by Mingchien Joshua Bau, *The Foreign Relations of China: a History and a Survey,*[21] *The Open Door Doctrine in Relation to China,*[22] and *China and World Peace,*[23] reviewing China's international relations since the Washington Conference—all of them fairly carefully done, but none of them contributing much of importance which had not already appeared in English in monographs and handbooks; En Tsung Yen, *The Open Door Policy,*[24] based on some of the printed sources easily accessible in English, but adding little to our knowledge; Tsung-yu Sze, *China and the Most-Favored-Nation Clause,*[25] also based almost entirely upon well-known printed sources in English; and Ching-lin Hsia, *Studies in Chinese Diplomatic History,*[26] which deals chiefly with foreign encroachments on Chinese sovereignty in a fairly moderate nationalistic spirit and again uses only English sources. Shuhsi Hsü, *China and her Political Entity,*[27] is chiefly a narrative of the policy of China and of other powers in Manchuria, with sections on Mongolia and Korea. Although the author is obviously a Chinese nationalist, he has made his work of real value by delving diligently into material in Chinese and so bringing together information which has heretofore not been available in a Western language. The author has not, however, gone much into the pertinent documents in Japanese, Russian, French, and German. Ken Shen Weigh, *Russo-Chinese Diplomacy,*[28] while dealing principally with documents in English, is a diligent study and especially possesses value for its useful summary of events since 1917. It is pro-Chinese and anti-Communist.

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[19] Among these are: *Kuo Hsüeh Chi K'an* (Journal of Sinological Studies) the only four numbers of which appeared in 1922 and 1923 published by the ill-fated (Peking) National University, and containing articles by some of China's most eminent scholars; *Ts'ing-hua Hsüeh Pao* (the Ts'ing-hua Journal), a semi-annual now in its seventh year; *Hsüeh Hêng* (the Critical Review), a monthly edited by Wu Mi of the Ts'ing-hua Research Institute and published in Nanking since 1922; *Shih Ti Hsüeh Pao* (Journal of the Historical and Geographical Society), a monthly published between 1922 and 1926 by the Nanking Higher Normal School before it merged with Southeastern University, and printed by the Commercial Press, Shanghai; *Kuo Hsüeh Pao* (Kuo Hsüeh Journal) published in Peking beginning with 1927; *Yenching Hsüeh Pao* (the Yenching Journal) founded in June, 1927, and published semiannually by the faculty of the Protestant university in Peking; *Tung Fang Cha Chi*; and the periodicals published by the universities of Amoy, Kuangchou, and Chung Shan. General periodicals containing valuable studies in Chinese history are *Min-teh Tsa Chih* (the Min-teh Monthly) published, beginning with 1920, by the Commercial Press of Shanghai; *K'e Hsüeh* (Science) published by the Science Society of China (1915 *et seq.*); *T'u Shu Kuan Hsüeh Chi K'an,* published in Nanking by the Library Association of China (1926 *et seq.*); *Chia Yin* (the Tiger, so called after the animal presiding over the cyclical year—1914—in which the journal originated), edited by Chang Hsing-yen, once Minister of Education, sponsoring conservative views, and discontinued in 1926; and *Shên Pao Wu-shih Chou-nien Chi-nien K'an* (Commemorative Edition of the Golden Jubilee of the Shên Pao), a large volume surveying almost every aspect of Chinese life during the half-century since the daily was founded, and containing articles written by outstanding experts.

[20] New York, 1922.

[21] New York, 1921.

[22] New York, 1923.

[23] New York, 1928.

A few books in other than the diplomatic field also deserve our attention. Wei Yi-pao has prepared a translation of Mo Ti, which has just been published by Probsthain. Lin Paotchin, *L'Instruction Féminine en Chine (après la Révolution de 1911),*[29] is a useful summary. Mabel Ping-hua Lee, *The Economic History of China, with Special Reference to Agriculture,*[30] collects much material but is lacking in synthesis and in critical maturity. Kuo-cheng Wu, *Ancient Chinese Political Theories,*[31] dodges the issues raised by the debates concerning the authenticity and the dates of the *Shu Ching* and the *Chou Li* and accepts Lao Tzŭ as an historical personage. Chi Li, *The Formation of the Chinese People: an Anthropological Inquiry,*[32] is an ingenious and creditable attempt to trace the spread of the primitive Chinese stock through what is now China. Y. P. Wang has a book on *The Rise of the Native Press in China.*[33] Pao Chao Hsieh, *The Government of China (1644–1911),*[34] is a useful description—utilizing Chinese publications, both official and private—of the governmental machinery of China during the Ch'ing dynasty. Kim Wei Shaw, *Democracy and Finance in China: a Study in the Development of Fiscal Systems and Ideals,*[35] collects much material on Chinese fiscal history. Another thesis, on a different subject, is Tsen Tsonming, *Essai Historique sur la Poésie Chinoise.*[36] The Princess Der Ling, in her *Old Buddha,*[37] gives in charming and vivid style, from her own intimate knowledge of the court, something of the story of that most vigorous and enigmatic figure of the last half-century of the Manchu dynasty, the Empress Dowager.

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[24] Boston, 1923.

[25] New York, 1925.

[26] Shanghai, 1924.

[27] New York, 1926.

[28] Shanghai, 1928.

[29] Paris, 1926.

[30] New York, 1921.

[31] Shanghai, 1928.

[32] Cambridge, 1928.

[33] New York, 1924.

[34] Baltimore, 1923.

[35] New York, 1926.

Most of these books suffer from being the maiden efforts of their authors and are doctoral dissertations written in American and European universities, with some of the virtues and many of the defects of their class. Some of them, too, appear to have been prepared under the supervision of instructors who possessed little expert knowledge of China and so were unable to be of any great assistance in their composition.

The many books in Western languages, and particularly in English, by Chinese, dealing with the events of the past decade do not, strictly speaking, fall within the scope of this survey. It may be well, however, to notice what is probably the best translation into English of Sun Yat-sen's famous *San Min Chu I* (*The Three Principles of the People*) by Frank W. Price, edited by L. T. Chen.[38]

The Japanese, naturally, are much interested in Chinese history. They have made some notable archæological discoveries, especially in Korea, and of the remains of the Han and the post-Han dynasties. Much interesting material is appearing in such journals as *Shinagaku* and *Tôyô Gakuhô.* Unfortunately, so few Western sinologists are able to read Japanese that this work is not readily available to them. A useful undertaking has been begun, however, in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tôyô Bunko* (The Oriental Library),[39] in which the articles are all in English and French. These *Memoirs,* it must be noted, do not deal exclusively with Chinese history.

Western scholars and writers seem to be more and more attracted to China. In the field of bibliography, the late Henri Cordier, not long before his death, added to his *Bibliotheca Sinica* supplementary fascicules[40] which brought that monumental work down to date. In *Histoire et Historiens depuis Cinquante Ans*[41] Professor Henri Maspero has given in forty-three pages an excellent survey of the material produced on China and Central Asia during the past generation.

To the periodicals dealing in a scholarly way with China has been added *Asia Major,* published in Leipzig since 1924. The preliminary issue, *The Hirth Anniversary Volume,*[42] contains a series of articles on various phases of Chinese history on periods before the coming of the European. *The China Journal of Science and Arts* (1923–1926), since 1926, *The China Journal,* occasionally has articles of real interest to historians. *Asiatica,* of London (1928 *et seq.*), contains good book reviews. Through the lamented death of its editor we have lost *The New China Review,* the last issue being in December, 1922. The other major periodicals containing historical articles of importance on China all continue publication.

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[36] Lyons, 1922.

[37] New York, 1928.

[38] Shanghai, China Committee, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1927.

[39] Tokyo, 1926 *et seq.*

[40] Paris, 1922–1924.

[41] Paris, 1928.

[42] London, 1923.

Of general histories on China we have had a number. The largest is Henri Cordier, *Histoire Générale de la Chine et de ses Relations avec les Pays Étrangers depuis les Temps les plus Anciens jusqu'à la Chute de la Dynastie Mandchoue.*[43] It is decidedly disappointing, being lacking in perspective, devoting a disproportionate amount of space to the recent period, and repeating for the most part traditional views. It is, however, probably our best long Chinese history in a European language. Both René Grousset, *Histoire de l'Asie,*[44] and F. E. A. Krause, *Geschichte Ostasiens,*[45] contain extensive sections on China. Better than either is René Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient,*[46] which is especially valuable for its extensive footnote references to articles and monographs and for its Chinese characters for proper names. The new general histories in English are in the nature of textbooks and not only add nothing to our knowledge of China but do not incorporate some of the best results of modern special studies.[47] Western historians have been particularly interested in the ancient history of China, especially that before the Han, and the past eight years have witnessed the appearance of several very good books in that field. The best general survey of the period, one which deserves to supplant all others in European languages, is Henri Maspero, *La Chine Antique.*[48] It is based upon the studies not only of Western but of Chinese and Japanese specialists, and is by one who himself has made noteworthy contributions to our knowledge of various phases of these centuries.

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[43] 4 vols., Paris, 1920, 1921.

[44] 3 vols., Paris, 1922.

[45] Göttingen, 1925.

[46] 2 vols., Paris, 1929.

[47] Two are H. H. Gowen and J. W. Hall, *An Outline History of China* (New York, 1926), and E. T. Williams, *A Short History of China* (New York, 1928). Richard Wilhelm, *Geschichte der Chinesischen Kultur* (Munich, 1928), recently translated into English (New York, 1929), is better, but comes down only to the nineteenth century and is fullest for the pre-Han periods.

[48] Paris, 1927. Excellent also is Marcel Granet, *La Civilisation Chinoise,* which brings the story through the Han (Paris, 1929). The remarkable discoveries, in Manchuria, Honan, and Kansu, of remains of a culture or cultures which were on the border between the stone and bronze ages are described by J. G. Andersson in *An Early Chinese Culture,* in the *Bulletin of the Geological Survey of China,* no. 5, pt. I., Oct., 1923, pp. 1–68, by the same author in *The Cave Deposit at Sha Kuo T'un in Fengtien,* in *Palaeontologia Sinica,* ser. D, v. I., fas. 1, Peking, 1923, and in *Preliminary Report on Archaeological Research in Kansu,* in *Bul. Geol. Survey of China,* 1925, and by T. J. Arne, in *Painted Stone Age Pottery from the Province of Honan, China,* in *Palaeontologia Sinica,* ser. D, v. I., fas. 2, Peking, 1925. Remarkable finds of palæolithic man, summarized—together with

The Chou dynasty, as is well known, was marked by the rise of most of the schools of Chinese thought which were to mold the nation throughout the succeeding centuries of its history. The philosophy of the period, therefore, has been very attractive to students. Two excellent surveys have appeared in G. Tucci, *Storia della Filosofia Cinese Antica,* and a rather monumental work by Alfred Forke, *Geschichte der Alten Chinesischen Philosophie.*[49]

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the above discoveries of neolithic remains—by N. C. Nelson in the *American Anthropologist,* XXIX. (Apr., 1927), pp. 177 *et seq.,* push back the horizons of Chinese history much further than we had heretofore suspected. Other accounts of pre-neolithic man are Zdansky, *Preliminary Notice on Two Teeth of a Hominid from a Cave in Chihli,* in *Bul. of the Geol. Survey of China,* V., nos. 3–4 (1927), pp. 281–284, Chardin and Licent, *The Discovery of a Paleolithic Industry in North China,* in *Bul. of the Geol. Survey of China,* III., no. 1 (1924), pp. 45–50, and Licent, Chardin, and Black, *On a Presumably Pleistocene Human Tooth from the Sjara-osso-gol Deposits,* in *ibid.,* V., nos. 3–4 (1927), pp. 285–290. A popularly written but reliable account of the Peking man is by Roy Chapman Andrews in the *Saturday Evening Post* for Mar. 22, 1930. Alfred Forke, in *Der Ursprung der Chinesen auf Grund ihrer Alten Bilderschrift* (Hamburg, 1925), argues from their primitive written characters that the early Chinese were an agricultural people, living in South China and possibly in Indo-China.

An excellent study of some of the oldest Chinese written documents and of the light which they shed on life and customs at the dawn of Chinese history is Marcel Granet, *Danses et Légendes de la Chine Ancienne* (Paris, 1926). In connection with Granet there should be noted H. P. Wilkinson, *The Family in Classical China* (London, 1926). It is greatly inferior to Granet. There should be noted, too, O. Franke, *Der Ursprung der Chinesischen Geschichtsschreibung* (Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1925). Professor Bernhard Karlgren, in his *On the Authenticity and Nature of the Tso Chuan* (Göteborg, 1926), maintains, partly on philological grounds, a position now rather widely held, that this well-known work is a genuine product of the fifth or fourth century B. C., and quite independent in origin from the Ch'un Ch'iu, of which it has been traditionally believed to be a commentary.

[49] Bologna, 1921, and Hamburg, 1927. Special studies of importance are William S. A. Pott, *Chinese Political Philosophy* (New York, 1925)—a most interesting and stimulating interpretation of some of the early Chinese schools of thought; *Hsüntze, the Moulder of Ancient Confucianism* (London, 1927)—a summary of the teaching of that influential thinker—and *The Works of Hsüntze,* translated from the Chinese (London, 1928), both of them by H. H. Dubs and not without numerous serious and disappointing errors; Alfred Forke, *Mê Ti, des Sozialethikers und seiner Schüler Philosophische Werke, zum ersten Mal vollständig Übersetzt* (Berlin, Universität. Seminar für Orientalische Spräche Mitteilungen, 1922); L. Tomkinson, *The Social Teachings of Meh Tse* (Tokyo, Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 2nd ser., vol. IV., Dec., 1927); and J. J. L. Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang: a Classic of the School of Law* (London, 1928). Professor E. D. Thomas has written *Chinese Political Thought: a Study based upon the Theories of the Principal Thinkers of the Chou Period* (New York, 1927), but it

To the important centuries between the final downfall of the Chou and the coming of the Westerner in force in the nineteenth century, European scholars have, as heretofore, devoted little attention. A few important works on phases and movements of these years have appeared. J. J. M. de Groot's *Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens*[50] is mainly made up of translations of and annotations on Chinese documents having chiefly to do with the Huns and the lands west of China, under the Former Han. The second volume is posthumous and was edited by O. Franke. The late Professor T. F. Carter, who was cut off when on the threshold of what gave promise of being a brilliant career, produced, as his maiden work, *The Invention of Printing and its Spread Westward*.[51] An only fairly important work is Seufert, *Urkunden zur Staatlichen Neuordnung unter der Han-Dynastie* (Mitteilungen des Orientalischen Seminars, Berlin, 1922). Professor M. Rostovtzeff, in his *Inlaid Bronzes of the Han Dynasty in the Collection of C. T. Loo*,[52] has brought to the study of the art of the period a rich store of information concerning the ancient Mediterranean and central Asiatic worlds which has enabled him to demonstrate the strong probability of the influence upon the Chinese art of that age of the cultures to the west.[53] Professor J. P. Bruce, in his *Philosophy of Human Nature, by Chu Hsi, translated from the Chinese*,[54] and in his *Chu Hsi and his Masters: an Introduction to the Sung School of Chinese Philosophers*,[55] has made accessible to those who do not know Chinese some of the most important figures in one of the greatest periods of Chinese thought. For foreign commerce during the period there is a fresh translation of an Arab traveler in G. Ferrand, *Voyage du Marchand Arabe Sulaymân en Inde et en Chine, Rédigé en 851. Suivi de Remarques par Abû Zayd Hasan, vers 916*.[56] Archæological researches which throw light on these centuries are to be found in Sir Aurel Stein's great works, *Innermost Asia: detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia, Kansu, and Eastern Iran*,[57] and *Serindia: detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China*.[58] There ought also to be men-

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suffers from too uncritical a use of some of the sources and from unfamiliarity with and a consequent almost complete ignoring of some of the principal schools of thought of that period.

[50] 2 vols., Berlin and Leipzig, 1921–1926.

[51] New York, 1925.

[52] Paris, 1927.

[53] A report of the Russian archæological expedition of P. K. Kozlov in 1924–1925 to northern Mongolia (published at Leningrad in 1925 by the Russian Academy of Sciences, but, unfortunately, only in Russian) sheds light on Western influence in China in the same period. An account of the same expedition, in English, by W. P. Yetts, is to be found in the *Burlington Magazine* of April, 1926.

[54] London, 1922.

[55] London, 1923.

[56] Paris, 1922.

[57] 4 vols., Oxford, 1925.

[58] 5 vols., Oxford, 1925.

tioned the much less pretentious volume an English translation, by Anna Barwell, of a popularly written account by Albert von Le Coq, of his expeditions, in *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan: an Account of the Activities and Adventures of the Second and Third German Turfan Expeditions.*[59] A fuller report of Le Coq's findings has begun to appear in *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittel Asien.*[60] The narrative of the two Nestorian monks who were born in North China and who during the Mongol dynasty journeyed westward, one to become Nestorian Patriarch and the other to be an envoy to Europe, has given rise to two books. *The History of Yaballaha III., Nestorian Patriarch, and his Vicar, Bar Sauma, Mongol Ambassador to the Frankish Courts at the end of the Thirteenth Century,*[61] translated from the Syriac and annotated by J. A. Montgomery, gives only part of the original document. *The Monks of Kublai Khan, Emperor of China,*[62] by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, translates the whole. The Mongol dynasty has also called forth F. E. A. Krause, *Cingis Han, die Geschichte seines Lebens nach den Chinesischen Reichsannalen,*[63] and B. J. Vladimirtsov, *Tschingis-Khan.*[64] Erich Hauer has done an important piece of translating in *Huang-Ts'ing K'ai-kuo Fang-lüeh, die Grundung des Mandschurischen Kaiserreiches Übersetzt und Erklärt,*[65] a book which was officially compiled in the latter part of the eighteenth century and which covers the beginnings of the Ch'ing dynasty—although the accuracy of the translation is not always beyond dispute.

In addition to these books, a number of articles have appeared in the scholarly journals, dealing with various topics during the period. Most of these have had to do with the intercourse of the Chinese with central and western Asia, and some, because of the special interests of the French savants, with Annam.[66]

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[59] London, 1928.

[60] 5 pts., Berlin, 1922–1926.

[61] New York, 1927.

[62] London, 1928.

[63] Heidelberg, 1922.

[64] Moscow, Berlin, 1922. The much-advertised H. Lamb, *Genghis Khan, Emperor of All Men* (New York, 1927), is, from the scholarly standpoint, very disappointing, and is mentioned here only because it has been so widely read.

[65] Berlin and Leipzig, 1926.

[66] Among these are Aurousseau, *La Première Conquête Chinoise des Pays Annamites (III.^{e} s. avant notre Ère)*, in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient,* 1923, pp. 177–265, Lüders, *Zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans,* in *Sitzb. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.,* 1922, pp. 243–261, Pelliot, *Note sur les Anciens Itinéraires Chinois dans l'Orient Romain,* in *Journal Asiatique,* 1921, pp. 139–145, and Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté,* in *Rev. de l'Orient Chrét.,* III. (XXIII.), nos. 1–2 (1922–1923), pp. 3–30. There are also several articles on the period in the *Hirth Anniversary Volume,* mentioned above.

On the internal history of China between the Chou and 1800 there are a few articles, such as Robert des Rotours, *Les Grands Fonctionnaires des Provinces en Chine sous la Dynastie des T'ang* (*T'oung Pao,* XXV. [1928], pp. 219–332), and

On European intercourse with China since 1500 and on internal developments in China during the past century or so there are, as might be expected, many new books. Several general surveys cover much of the field. Professor H. F. MacNair has a large volume called *Modern Chinese History: Selected Readings.*[67] He has also made a condensation of H. B. Morse's well-known volumes on *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire,* has amplified them to include all the Far East, and has brought them down to date.[68] Unfortunately, the publishers have withdrawn the book from circulation to permit the rewriting of some passages to which intense Chinese nationalists objected. Professor P. J. Treat, in *The Far East: a Political and Diplomatic History,*[69] has given an account of the past two centuries, the very marked excellence of which is only slightly marred by the author's tendency to defend Japan. Professor H. M. Vinacke, in *A History of the Far East in Modern Times,*[70] has written another account of the same period, but with a much larger proportion of his space devoted to the years after 1895 and with some attention to cultural as well as to political and diplomatic developments.[71]

Fully as important as these general surveys are the studies of special phases of intercourse between China and the West which have appeared these past eight years. Adolf Reichwein, *China and Europe: Intellectual and Artistic Contacts in the Eighteenth Century,*[72] is an excellent account of the remarkable vogue which things Chinese had in Europe in the eighteenth century. A book on a later period

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J. C. Ferguson, *Political Parties of the Northern Sung Dynasty,* in *Jour. of the N. China Br. of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1927, pp. 35-56.

[67] Shanghai, 1923.

[68] H. B. Morse and H. F. MacNair, *Far Eastern International Relations,* Shanghai, 1928.

[69] New York, 1928.

[70] New York, 1928.

[71] Professor W. E. Soothill, in *China and the West, a Sketch of their Intercourse* (London, 1925), has briefly and in a semi-popular manner covered the entire story from the Han dynasty to date with a decidedly pro-British bias. A less prejudiced brief survey by a British subject is Sir Frederick Whyte's *China and Foreign Powers* (London, 1927). Professor N. D. Harris devotes to China a considerable proportion of his *Europe and the East* (Boston, 1926). H. K. Norton's *China and the Powers* (New York, 1927) is, for a semi-popular account, an unusually dispassionate study of China's international relations of recent years. Professor Paul Monroe, *China: a Nation in Evolution* (New York, 1928), is one of the best descriptions of the China of 1928—sympathetic with the Chinese, but temperate in spirit and objective in method. Professor W. W. Willoughby, in the revised edition of his *Foreign Rights and Interests in China* (2 vols., Baltimore, 1927), has brought that excellent compendium down to date and made it an even more invaluable storehouse of information concerning the status of aliens in China.

[72] New York, 1925.

to compare with it is W. L. Schwartz, *The Imaginative Interpretation of China in French Literature, 1800–1925.*[73] H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1635–1834,*[74] contains an amazing amount of material drawn almost entirely from the official records of the company. An early voyage has been recorded in F. Froger, *Relation du Premier Voyage des François à la Chine fait en 1698, 1699, et 1700 sur le Vaisseau " L'Amphitrite ".*[75] A book of missionary journeys is C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603–1721.*[76] Professor Pelliot has written an introduction to and edited in his painstaking and brilliant manner a fresh edition of Huc's famous *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China, 1844–1846, translated by William Hazlitt.*[77] There is a book on the status of the Peking legations—M. J. Pergament, *The Diplomatic Quarter in Peking, its Juristic Nature.*[78] An excellent work surveying the stormy years of 1894–1900 and maintaining that to Great Britain must chiefly go the credit for maintaining the open door in and the territorial integrity of China is P. Joseph, *Foreign Diplomacy in China, 1894–1900: a Study in Political and Economic Relations with China.*[79] G. W. Keeton, *The Development of Extraterritoriality in China,*[80] is a well documented history of the subject with extensive appendixes, and so is both a narrative and a source book. Professor G. N. Steiger, in *China and the Occident: the Origin and Development of the Boxer Movement,*[81] places much more of the responsibility for that outbreak upon the mismanagement and truculence of the Powers than is usually done. Professor P. H. Clyde has written his maiden monograph in *International Rivalries in Manchuria, 1689–1922.*[82] In *An American Diplomat in China* [83] Dr. P. S. Reinsch put into readable form the record of his experiences as American minister in Peking (1913–1919). The Washington Conference of 1921–1922 evoked two books—a general account of the gathering and its achievements, in R. L. Buell, *The Washington Conference,*[84] and one devoted to its Chinese phases, in Professor W. W. Willoughby's *China at the Conference: a Report.*[85] There should also be noted in this connection the *Report of the Commission on Extraterritoriality in China, Peking, September 16, 1926* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1926), and the *British Report of the Advisory Committee together with other Documents respecting the Chinese Indemnity* (London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926). Under that commission were published, in English, a number of documents to which it is unnecessary to call attention here. The *China Year Book* continues, in its annual issues, to provide invaluable documents and other important information on the current situation.[86]

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[73] Paris, 1927.

[74] 5 vols., Cambridge, 1926–1929.

[75] Leipzig, *Asia Major*, 1926.

[76] The Hague, 1924.

[77] London, 1928.

[78] Peking, 1927.

[79] London, 1928.

[80] London, 1928.

[81] New Haven, 1927.

[82] Columbus, 1926.

[83] Garden City, 1922.

[84] New York, 1922.

[85] Baltimore, 1922.

The Christian missionary movement in China continues to give rise to an extensive literature.[87] The entire story of Christian missions in China, Nestorian, Russian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant, has been woven for the first time into a connected narrative in my own *History of Christian Missions in China.*[88]

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[86] On China's intercourse with individual countries, Professor Soothill has issued what in effect is an *apologia* for the land of his birth in *China and England* (Oxford, 1928). A very much better book is Tyler Dennett's *Americans in Eastern Asia: a Critical Study of the Policy of the United States with Reference to China, Japan and Korea in the 19th Century* (New York, 1922). It is the result of a thorough investigation of the more important printed material and of the archives of the Department of State and is the outstanding book in its field. A documentary collection is *List of Treaties . . . between Great Britain and China* (*1842–1922*) . . . (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1925).

[87] A mammoth quarto volume, *The Christian Occupation of China,* edited by Milton T. Stauffer (Shanghai, China Continuation Committee, 1922), is the most nearly exhaustive survey of Protestant missionary activities ever made for any country—a kind of Domesday Book—picturing the movement as it was in 1921. The epoch-making (Protestant) National Christian Conference of 1922 embodied the record of its proceedings in *The Chinese Church as Revealed in the National Christian Conference held in Shanghai . . . 1922* (Shanghai). A commission whose findings are profoundly modifying Protestant education in China made its report and recommendations in *Christian Education in China* (Shanghai, 1922). The *Chinese Recorder* continues to be the one periodical which portrays all Protestant missions, and *The China Mission Year Book* (beginning with 1926, the *China Christian Year Book*) has been published annually with the exception of the years 1920–1922. Histories of individual missions are Harriet N. Noyes, *History of the South China Mission of the American Presbyterian Church, 1845–1920* (Shanghai, 1927), and W. R. Williams, *Ohio Friends in the Land of Sinim* (Mt. Gilead, Ohio, *c.* 1926). A first hand picture of conditions, especially of American Presbyterian missions, in 1926, is R. E. Speer and H. T. Kerr, *Report on Japan and China* (New York, 1927). For the Roman Catholics, J. M. Planchet, *Les Missions de Chine et du Japon* (Peking, Imprimerie des Lazaristes), continues to be the best annual summary. Father Planchet has compiled *Documents sur les Martyrs de Pékin pendant la Persécution des Boxeurs* (2 vols., Peking, 1922, 1923). A. Thomas has written an excellent account of the Jesuit mission in Peking in *Histoire de la Mission de Pékin depuis les Origines jusqu'à l'Arrivée des Lazaristes* (Paris, 1923), and G. C. Powers, in *The Maryknoll Movement* (Maryknoll, Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, 1926), has covered the beginnings of an American organization which has devoted itself chiefly to China. The letters of the missionaries of this same organization have been published in *Maryknoll Mission Letters from China* (New York, 1923, 1927). The story of the Protestant missionary movement and part of the story of the Roman Catholic missions have been told by Professor Julius Richter in *Das Werden der Christlichen Kirche in China* (Gütersloh, 1928).

[88] New York, 1929. On economic developments in China we have, among other monographs, Professor H. M. Vinacke, *Problems of Industrial Development in China* (Princeton, 1926)—a rather general and preliminary survey; Professor

These past eight years, so filled with spectacular developments in China's internal and foreign affairs, have been pictured to the Western, and especially to the English-speaking world, in a veritable flood of books. To enumerate and comment on them all would prolong this article unduly. Some of the most important, however, must be mentioned. Anna Louise Strong, *China's Millions,*[89] is a graphic description, sympathetic with the Communists, of Central China during the time when the radicals were in control, in 1927. H. O. Chapman, *The Chinese Revolution, 1926–27: a Record of the Period*

C. F. Remer, *Foreign Trade of China* (Shanghai, 1926)—chiefly a history of commerce with foreign countries from 1871 through 1921; Professor J. S. Burgess, *The Guilds of Peking* (New York, 1928)—a study which, while carefully done, adds little of importance to our existing information; F. C. Lee, *Currency, Banking, and Finance in China* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1926); W. H. Mallory, *China, Land of Famine* (American Geographical Society, 1926); and Julean Arnold's exhaustive *China: a Commercial and Industrial Handbook* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1926). It may be noted in this connection that the Chinese government, through its Bureau of Economic Information, publishes (Shanghai, 1921 *et seq.*) a weekly *Bulletin* and the *Chinese Economic Journal* (Peking, 1927 *et seq.*), the latter incorporating the *Chinese Economic Monthly* (1924–1926).

Important special studies of other topics of the past hundred years are Professor W. J. Hail's masterly work, based not only upon a careful analysis of the existing material in Western languages, but upon Chinese documents, some of them rare, *Tsêng Kuo-fan and the Taiping Rebellion, with a short sketch of his Later Career* (New Haven, 1927)—quite the best account of the T'aip'ing Rebellion in any language; J. J. L. Duyvendak, *The Diary of His Excellency Ching-shan, being a Chinese Account of the Boxer Troubles* (Leyden, Brill, 1924); an intensive and careful investigation of all phases of the life of a single, fairly small community, in D. H. Kulp, *Country Life in South China: the Sociology of Familism*, vol. I., *Phenix Village, Kwangtung, China* (New York, 1925); a useful and readable description of two high-class Chinese families in Lady Hosie, *Two Gentlemen of China* (London, 1924); and, as a sort of sequel to the last, Lady Hosie, *Portrait of a Chinese Lady and Certain of her Contemporaries* (New York, 1930). Added to the already extensive literature on Chinese emigration are P. C. Campbell, *Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire* (London, 1923)—a well documented book, an equally scholarly and more comprehensive survey, H. F. MacNair, *The Chinese Abroad, their Position and Protection: a Study in International Law and Relations* (Shanghai, 1924), E. G. Mears, *Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast, their Legal and Economic Status* (Chicago, 1928), Ta Chen, *Chinese Migrations* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1923), and, in enthusiastic praise of Chinese achievements in Malaya, Song Ong Siang, *One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore* (London, 1923). For the customs service a useful book is S. F. Wright, *The Collection and Disposal of the Maritime and Native Customs Revenue since the Revolution of 1911, with an Account of the Loan Services administered by the Inspector-General of Customs* (Shanghai, Statistical Dept. of the Inspector-General of Customs, 1927). On the legal history of recent years J. Scarra has *Receuil des Sommaires de la Jurisprudence de la Cour Suprême de la République de Chine* (Shanghai, 1921–1925), with a *Supplément* (Peking, 1926).

[89] New York, 1928.

under Communist Control,[90] is another account, also sympathetic with the Nationalists, of much the same region and period. L. M. King, *China in Turmoil: Studies in Personality,*[91] is a remarkably vivid description of typical individuals on the western frontiers. Bertrand Russell, *The Problem of China,*[92] reflects the well-known economic, political, and social views of the author. Alice Tisdale Hobart, *Within the Walls of Nanking,*[93] is a participant's account of the Nanking incident of March, 1927. H. G. W. Woodhead, *The Truth about the Chinese Republic,*[94] by the editor of the *China Year Book* and the *Peking and Tientsin Times,* is one of the better presentations, in popular form—in spite of its somewhat egotistic title—of some phases of the recent situation. A sketch in French, covering the political, economic, and diplomatic sides of China's story since 1911, is Georges Dubarbier, *La Chine Contemporaine, Politique et Économique.*[95] The two well-known journalists, B. L. Putnam Weale (Bertram Lenox Simpson) and Thomas F. Millard, the one British, the other American, have each added to the succession of volumes from their pens on current conditions and problems—Putnam Weale, *Why China Sees Red* [96] and *The Vanished Empire* [97] (events in diary form in 1925 and 1926 preceded by a sketch, brilliantly but not always accurately written and comprising about half the volume, of Chinese history and intercourse with foreigners), and Millard, *China, Where it is Today and Why.*[98] H. T. Hodgkin, *China in the Family of Nations,*[99] is a good popular account by a friend of China. *China Today: Political,*[100] by S. K. Hornbeck, is an excellent brief statement by a well-known authority. Rodney Gilbert's *What's Wrong with China?* [101] is mentioned here partly because it created such a stir, and partly because it is representative of the extremists among the foreign residents of China who are critical of modern China and of the nationalist movement. A much more substantial record of recent events is that prepared by the Jesuit missionary-scholar, Father Léon Wieger, in *Chine Moderne,*[102] in which he has brought together a great deal of documentary and newspaper material from foreign and Chinese sources to illustrate some of the main movements of the past few years. Arthur N. Holcombe, *The Chinese Revolution: a Phase in the Regeneration of a World Power,*[103] is chiefly a narrative of

[90] London, 1928.
[91] Boston, 1927.
[92] New York, 1922.
[93] London, 1928.
[94] London, *c.* 1925.
[95] Paris, 1926.
[96] New York, 1925.
[97] London, 1926.
[98] New York, 1928.
[99] 2nd ed., London, 1928.
[100] Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1927.
[101] New York, 1926.
[102] 6 vols., Hsien-hsien, 1921–1925.
[103] Cambridge, 1930. *The Problems of the Pacific: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, Hawaii, July 15 to 20.*

events since 1926 and an evaluation of the present government, rather favorable to the Chinese, by a trained observer.

A number of other volumes and pamphlets deserve mention, although they do not fall entirely within any of the groups so far described. Professor Bernhard Karlgren has two little books on *Sound and Symbol in Chinese*[104] and *Philology and Ancient China*[105] with much illuminating knowledge and conjecture on the changes in language in China and the reconstruction of the older forms. Berthold Laufer's *The Prehistory of Aviation*[106] evidences the wide and profound erudition which we are accustomed to expect from that great sinologist. Two studies in ancient literature are Georges Margouliès, editor, *Le "Fou" dans le Wen-Suian, Étude et Textes*[107] and *Le Kou-Wen Chinois.*[108] The reports of an archæological expedition in 1914–1917 are in Victor Segalen, *Mission Archéologique en Chine.*[109] S. M. Shirokogoroff has written, among other monographs, *Anthropology of Northern China*[110] and *Social Organization of the Manchus: a Study of the Manchu Clan Organization.*[111] O. S. Johnson has given us *A Study of Chinese Alchemy,*[112] in which a good deal of material is collected from Chinese sources.

Alfred Forke has, in addition to his works already mentioned, produced *Die Gedankenwelt des Chinesischen Kulturkreises*[113] and *The World-Conception of the Chinese: their Astronomical and Physico-Philosophical Speculations.*[114] We have at least two histories of Chinese philosophy—Heinrich Hackmann, *Chinesische Philosophie,*[115] and E. V. Zenker, *Geschichte der Chinesischen Philosophie,*[116] both in the nature of handbooks. Father Léon Wieger's *Histoire des Croyances Religieuses et des Opinions Philosophiques en Chine depuis l'Origine, jusqu'à nos Jours* (1917) has been trans-

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1927, edited by J. B. Condliffe (Chicago, 1928), contains pertinent and useful information on recent events and problems. J. V. A. MacMurray's great work, *Treaties and Agreements with and concerning China, 1894–1919* (2 vols., New York, 1921), has been continued in Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, *Treaties and Agreements with and concerning China, 1919–1929* (Washington, 1929). The pertinent documents for Manchuria have been summarized by C. Walter Young, *The International Relations of Manchuria* (Chicago, 1929).

[104] London, 1923.

[105] Oslo, 1926.

[106] Chicago, 1928. Dr. Laufer has short monographs on *The Giraffe in History and Art* (Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, 1928), *Tobacco and its Use in Asia* (*ibid.*, 1924), *Ivory in China* (*ibid.*, 1925), and *Archaic Chinese Bronzes of the Shang, Chou, and Han Periods in the Collections of Mr. Parish-Watson* (New York, 1922).

[107] Paris, 1925.

[108] Paris, 1925.

[109] 2 vols., Paris, 1923–1924.

[110] Shanghai, 1923.

[111] Shanghai, 1924.

[112] Shanghai, 1928.

[113] Munich and Berlin, 1927.

[114] London, 1925.

[115] Munich, 1927.

[116] 2 vols., Reichenberg, 1926.

lated into English by E. T. C. Werner.[117] Much interesting material, drawn largely from previously untranslated Chinese sources, is contained in E. T. C. Werner, *Myths and Legends of China.*[118] Professor Marcel Granet has written a handbook, *La Religion des Chinois,*[119] whose chief value lies in its review of the earlier religion of China. Another study of the leading Chinese faiths—and an excellent one—is F. E. A. Krause, *Ju-Tao-Fo, die Religiosen und Philosophischen Systeme Ostasiens.*[120] A good historical survey of Chinese Buddhism, and especially of the present condition of that faith, is contained in J. B. Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism.*[121] A book of only mediocre worth is Reichelt, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism.*[122]

An interesting volume on the stage is A. E. Zucker, *The Chinese Theater,*[123] which is both history and description. Two others on the same general subject are R. F. Johnston, *The Chinese Drama*[124] and *Le Theâtre Chinois, Peintures, Sanguines et Croquis d'Alexandre Jacovleff, Texte de Tchou-kia-kien.*[125]

A translation into French of part of the Ch'ing code—the standard English edition of which is by Sir George Staunton—by Father Gui Boulais was posthumously published in *Variétés Sinologiques* no. 55, as *Manuel du Code Chinois.*[126] J. S. M. Ward and W. G. Sterling have given documents on the Triad Society, especially as found in the Straits Settlements, in *The Hung Society or the Society of Heaven and Earth.*[127]

Thanks to the interest of museums and private collectors. art has received much attention.[128]

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[117] Shanghai, 1927.

[118] London, 1922.

[119] Paris, 1922.

[120] Munich, 1924.

[121] New York, 1928.

[122] Shanghai, 1927. More recondite works are *Vijnaptimatratasiddhi; le Siddhi de Hiuan-tsang,* traduite et annotée par Louis de la Vallée Poussin (Paris, 1928), *Prabodh Chandra Bagchi; le Canon Bouddhique en Chine; les Traducteurs et les Traductions* (Paris, 1924), and, by the latter author, *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois; Fan yu tsa ming de Li Yen et Fan yu ts'ien tseu wen de Yi-tsing* (Paris, 1926).

[123] London, 1925.

[124] Shanghai, 1922.

[125] Paris, 1922.

[126] Shanghai, 1923, 1924.

[127] 3 vols., London, 1925, 1926.

[128] Here it will suffice to notice Osvald Siren, *Chinese Sculpture from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century* (4 vols., London, 1925); H. d'Ardenne de Tizac, *L'Art Chinois Classique* (Paris, 1926); Leigh Ashton, *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Sculpture* (London, 1924); *Artibus Asiae,* with articles often bearing as much upon history and archæology as upon art; the second edition of E. Zimmerman, *Chinesisches Porzellan und die übrigen Keramischen Erzeugnisse Chinas* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1923); *Chinese Art: an Introductory Review of Painting, Ceramics, Textiles, Bronzes, Sculpture, Jade,* etc., *Burlington Magazine* monograph (by various authors) (London, 1925); W. Perceval Yetts, *Writings on Chinese Architecture* (*Burlington Magazine,* Mar., 1927), a bibliographical history of Chinese

Brief notices of some of the recent scholarly studies in Russian, little known to most of us because of the language barrier, are in *T'oung Pao,* XXII. (1923), pp. 391–395. The list of books and articles published in Russian since 1917, many of them given in a catalogue of doctoral dissertations, is impressive. A number of younger scholars, competent in the Chinese language, are arising, and are doing work in a wide range of fields. Most of the effort is directed to very recent history and contemporary problems and conditions. The leading Russian sinologist, Professor Basil M. Alexeiev, deals chiefly with literature, religion, religious archæology, and current conditions.

From the foregoing pages it will have become apparent that there is a marked interest in the study of Chinese history in China, in Japan, and in the Occident. It will also have become clear that the efforts of scholars, both Chinese and non-Chinese, are very unevenly distributed. The tendency is to concentrate on the Chou and pre-Chou period, upon the history of philosophy, especially under the Chou and the Sung, upon art, and upon the contacts of China with foreign peoples and cultures, particularly of the past hundred years. The result has been that vast reaches of China's history are being almost entirely neglected, among them some of the most interesting and important centuries. As far as Western scholarship is concerned, this distribution of effort is, unfortunately, perpetuating a tradition. The sinologists of the Occident have given but scanty attention to the domestic history of China in the centuries between the Former Han and the Ch'ing.

In closing may I say that in America the past eight years have witnessed a rising interest in the scholarly study of China. The number of colleges and universities having courses dealing with China has about doubled. New chairs are being created which are concerned with China, either exclusively or as part of the general field of the Far East. The trustees of the Hall estate have made possible the Harvard-Yenching Institute, with fairly large funds, and with plans, not yet fully matured, for advanced study of things Chinese both in China and in this country and by properly qualified Chinese

architecture by native and Western writers; E. F. Strange, *Chinese Lacquer* (London, 1926); and Arthur Waley, *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting* (London, 1923). A work which combines artistic and archæological interest is Hentze, *Chinese Tomb Figures: a Study in the Folklore and Beliefs of Ancient China* (London, 1928). A valuable work involving much labor is Arthur Waley's *An Index of Chinese Artists* (London, British Museum, 1922). An initial attempt in a Western language at a survey of ancient Chinese bronzes is E. H. Voretzsch, *Altchinesische Bronzen* (Berlin, 1924). The series *Ars Asiatica* continues to produce excellent monographs on Chinese art.

and westerners. The remarkable Chinese collection in the Library of Congress is steadily being augmented and is probably the best of its kind outside of China. The Gest library of Chinese books has been made accessible by its deposit at McGill University. The American Numismatic Society has one of the best—perhaps the best—collections of Chinese coins to be found anywhere. Museums are showing a great concern for adding to their Chinese sections, particularly in art and archæology. The American Council of Learned Societies has gotten together a committee of sinologists for the promotion of Chinese studies, and this committee has inaugurated several important undertakings, among them an annual conference on Far Eastern studies and a survey of materials available for the study of China. Present indications are that the next decade or two will witness a marked growth in this country of serious interest and competent scholarship in things Chinese.

Yale University. KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

The Conference at Bayonne, 1565

In all the long controversy over this famous meeting of Catherine de Medici and the Duke of Alva, no one seems to have taken very seriously the explanation offered by Catherine herself: that its principal purpose was to give her the joy of seeing her daughter, Elizabeth, Queen of Spain.[1] If we are to judge from the character of some of the company, notably Alva and Alava, the conference may be assumed to have had considerable political significance; and there has been, consequently, an enormous amount of investigation of the purely political sources, revealing a very definite negotiation, which, it would seem, reached a definite conclusion. Among the causes and qualifications of Catherine's apparent acceptance of the Spanish plan for the annihilation of heresy, there has been, however, very little attention given to that relation between the two queens which was the interview's formal occasion.

Philip II., sending his agents to Bayonne, had in mind the definite hope of an alliance with the Valois to the destruction of Protestantism in their territories, although, to speak the truth, he was far from full confidence of success. The more extreme Catholics of France, without a leader since the death of François de Guise, looked to him for support and, it would seem, actual intervention. Disappointed at the considerable liberality of the Pacification of Amboise, deprived by Catherine's policy of the fruits of the victory of Dreux, and suspicious of her employment of such questionable and temperate individuals as Michel de l'Hôpital, they proposed, unless she gave earnest of an immediate change in attitude, to throw themselves entirely upon the grace of the king of Spain, for the sake of the faith.[2] Philip had long sought by various means to bring the queen mother to activity against the Huguenots, without any particular success. Philippe de Chantonnay, sent on his embassy upon the death of François de Guise, had brought upon himself the wrath of Catherine by impugning her influence over the young king. His successor, Francès de Alava, instructed in a course of action designed to impress upon the queen the necessity for a change in conduct, had no better fortune. Catherine replied to his proposals that the affairs of religion would settle themselves; but she did promise to take such measures as little by little might purify them. "Little by little?" cries Alava. "It is precisely that which the king does not wish."[3]

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[1] *Lettres de Cathérine de Médicis,* II. 298: to the maréchal de Montmorency, July 6. ". . . je feuz ce jour là coucher à Hiron, pour avoir le contantement de la veoir le plus longuement que je pourroys. Nous n'avons parlé durant nostredicte entreveue que de caresses, festoyemens de bonnes chères et en termes généraulx du désir que chascun a à la continuation de la bonne amitié entre Leurs Majéstez . . . à la verité, le principal fondement et occasion de ladicte entreveue n'a esté que pour avoir ceste consolation de veoir ladicte royne ma fille. . . ."

[2] Alava to Philip II., March 7, 1564, cited by E. Marcks, *Die Zusammenkunft von Bayonne,* p. 61.

There followed suspicion, the loss of Alava's papers, which Granvelle believes to have been stolen by Catherine's authority, explanations without sincerity,[4] finally, Philip's determination to permit that interview for which his queen and her mother had long been anxious. He does so, he explains, not because he has anything to expect from it, but because the two women so earnestly desire it, and because of his hope that the aims of Catherine, which have always been inconsistent and diverse, may be brought into an orderly channel.[5] But if Philip expected little, he at least took measures to secure what success he might. Alava was sent to Bayonne in June, before the party of Elizabeth had crossed the Pyrenees, to prepare the way for negotiation; and in her company, the Duke of Alva came with a program of an even coercive nature. Philip prepared to conciliate Catherine if possible; if not, he proposed acting without her.[6] Montpensier, Monluc, and others were to assist in finding the best way of persuading the queen to rigorous activity; or to indicate what course to follow in the event of her refusal.

Such is the situation and attitude of the Spaniard in June, before the interview. The extreme French Catholics are in their confidence and employ; they are desirous of Catherine's coöperation, but they have had such demonstration in the past of her dislike, and lack of belief in violent measures, that they are preparing, with their own independent power, to disregard it.

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[3] Catherine to St. Sulpice, Feb. 26, 1564, *L. de C.*, II. 148; *ibid., note,* Philip to Alava, "Vous ne manquerez pas de lui faire peur et de lui répéter que, si elle ne gouverne pas d'autre façon, cela me mécontentera beaucoup, obligé, comme je suis, à prendre en main les intérêts et le service du Roi mon frère; mais pour agir dans ce sens, attendez le départ de Chantonnay, la haine que la Reine lui porte entraverait tout". Also, *ibid.*, p. 157, *note*.

[4] *Papiers d'État du cardinal de Granvelle,* VIII. 104. *L. de C.,* II. 197 ff.

[5] *Papiers d'État,* VIII. 678, Philip to Granvelle, January 3, 1565.

[6] Alava's effort had been to attach securely to Philip's interest the malcontent Catholics. In a letter to Alva, who took up this work, there is reference to its success. *Papiers d'État,* IX. 281–293. Alva to Philip, St.-Jean-de-Luz, June 15. ". . . que á él tocavan dos cosas: la primera dezir el camino por donde la reyna y el rey se pudiesan atraer á poner la mano de veras en estos negocios, . . . la segunda, en caso que no se puedean atraer á esto, á alumbrar del camino por donde esto se ha de remediar, porque no será cosa conveniente verlo yrse perdiendo y no buscarle el remedio."

Catherine, by contrast, was in the midst of conflicting intrigues, even as the conference opened. At the moment, her negotiations with the English ambassador, Smith, with regard to the marriage of his queen to Charles IX., were in motion.[7] Alava, when he arrived in Bayonne, found that lodgings provided for a certain M. d'Épernon were in reality for a Turkish emissary. The only response he could gain to his protest was a confused mention of Algerian robbers in Provence, and tears. But the Turkish ambassador did come and remained, albeit in a monastery outside the city, to be visited by the king. Charles's explanation is that there was to be settled some claim of a Jewish merchant, nothing more.[8]

Under these conditions the Spanish negotiants began their work. Alva treated with the queen, he held up the horrible prospect latent in the too great power of Protestantism, he insisted upon the earnest good will of Philip if his advances were speedily accepted; all, apparently, futilely. To the end of June he and Alava could report nothing of encouragement to their master.[9] To everything Catherine made answer, protesting her devotion to the faith, yet maintaining, as before, that the ills of religion were improving with time; reiterating her former promises of their gradual amelioration. But she would not take violent steps, she would hear nothing of the Council of Trent, and she kept in her favor L'Hôpital and all that he implied.

Then at the latest hour, she yielded. In consideration of the background of half promises and evasions there can be little doubt, from the changed tone of the Spanish dispatches, of her acceptance in principle of Philip's proposal. Alava, who only a month before had heard Catherine's unconvincing explanation of the Turkish embassy, whose private documents had been stolen, as he believed, by her orders, a little over a year earlier, proclaims the arrangement. Even Philip is convinced of her conversion; though at the same time he warns his agent at Rome of the danger of too great precipitancy in acting upon it.[10] In the same letter he speaks of the success of his queen in bringing her mother to accept the Council of Trent, upon condition of an adjustment to be arranged by appointed clerics and jurisconsultes, insuring the prerogatives of the French crown and the rights of the Gallican church. And, a circumstance held of the highest significance by those who have wished to prove that Saint Bartholomew was plotted at Bayonne, Alva, on the tenth of September, 1572, writes that in his opinion the massacre was Catherine's discharge of her promise made to him seven years earlier.[11]

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[7] *L. de C.*, II. 306 ff., to De Foix, July 31. Discusses proposal of marriage and Elizabeth's request for the renunciation of Mary, Queen of Scots' claim to the English throne.

[8] Letters of Alava, May 31 to June 4, 1565, cited by Kervyn de Lettenhove, *La Conférence de Bayonne*, pp. 3–5. *L. de C.*, II. 302, *note*, Charles IX. to Du Ferrier.

[9] *Papiers d'État*, IX. 294–330, Alva to Philip, June 21, 1565. Letters of Alava cited by Lettenhove and Marcks.

[10] F. Combes, *L'Entrevue de Bayonne*, p. 37, letter of Alava, July 4: "El Duque de Alua significara a su Majd. pã V. S. lo que ha concertado con esta Reyna christianisima lo qual si llegase a efecto seria en harto seruicio de Dios y del rey nestro señor temola por la confusion que en ella siento ay algunas vezes y

Such appears to have been the history of the conference; and such is the only reliable evidence of its result. From it we can draw two conclusions. Catherine, whatever she may have promised at Bayonne, continued immediately in her earlier way. Certainly, that she received the English ambassador at Angoulême less than a month later, in connection with the English marriage, is evidence enough of her bad faith. On the other hand, the Spaniards, and Philip himself, clearly believed that she had made some sort of agreement with them. That Philip regarded it a quite reasonable possibility that she might return to her former policy, unless most carefully dealt with, is simply further demonstration that, in his mind, some real advance had been made toward attaching this woman, previously so vague and diffuse in her aims, to the Counter-Reformation.

This impression certainly was shared by the Protestants of France and the Netherlands, and has come down to us in the contemporary histories.[12] The tradition has been continued to the present, modified here and there; except with such Catholic writers as would have Catherine the defender of toleration, in defiance of the evidence.[13] The end of modern research has been to prove, by reference to the Spanish sources, that an understanding actually was

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lo que anteveo que an de martillar estos eresiarcas y otros que anque no tenien nombre dello lo son." *Ibid.*, p. 42, Philip II. to Pacheco, August 24: ". . . la reyna madre se persuadio y resoluio a querer muy de veras poner remedio a estas cosas de la religion y delante de algunos consegeros suyos catholicos y del duque de alua y de don Juan Manrique que quiso que estuuissen presentes offrecio a la Regna mi muger de poner remedio con gran breuedad en todo ello y que ne pornia mas delacion de tiempo en hazello. . . ."

". . . y asi su santidad sera servido no communicallo a persona ni tan poco a los mismos Reyes christianisimos porque no se puedan quexar y tomar por achaque que estando descubierto el negocio se les impide el remedio."

[11] Letter of Alva to Diego de Çuniga, Sept. 10, 1572, cited by Lettenhove, *Conférence de Bayonne*, p. 28.

[12] Mathieu, Agrippa d'Aubigné.

[13] Vicomte de Meaux, *Les Luttes Religieuses de Meaux*, p. 99, "Qui donc soutient en face d'elle (Elisabeth de Valois) la cause de tolérance? C'est Charles IX. et Cathérine de Médicis".

concerted between Catherine, her daughter, and the Duke of Alva. The foremost, it is true, have in large part abandoned the attempt directly to associate the events of Bayonne with the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Simply to prove that the agreement was reached, however, proves little. In the seven years that followed there is much that interrupts the "good friendship of their Majesties". The Spaniard, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, destroyed the French Huguenots in Florida, to Catherine's infinite displeasure. The younger Monluc whose father, at Bayonne, had been an intimate ally of the Spanish, invaded Madeira, making necessary further explanations.[14] Most important of all, the reopening of the civil wars in 1567, the withdrawal from affairs of L'Hôpital, and the increasing power of Coligny and his faction, created in 1572 an utterly changed situation from that of 1565. Possibly the idea of Rosseeuw de St. Hilaire that at Bayonne was planted in Catherine's mind the germ of St. Bartholomew has in it a measure of truth. Further it is impossible to go. The murder of Coligny was part of an immediate political development; what caused the general massacre is a subject for controversy, but of one thing we may be sure: a promise of seven years before weighed little in the determination of Catherine's policy of 1572.[15]

The ultimate question, then, whose settlement may clarify the whole affair, is: what brought about Catherine's apparent acceptance of the Counter-Reformation, in terms satisfactory to Philip II.? Politically, Catherine had reason enough for nervousness in June, 1565. As we have noticed above, the party which later was to form itself into the League had reached a Catholic zeal closely approaching revolt. Under the circumstances, it is not unreasonable to imagine that she was aware of the intimate relationship between such of her subjects as Montpensier and Monluc and the Catholic king. For three years she had steadfastly refused to deviate from her middle course in the religious conflict. Now, faced with a defection which might imperil her own power and the Valois monarchy itself, she was in the necessity of making some show of greater devotion to her professed religion and of a higher resoluteness in its defense than she had at any earlier time demonstrated. Even so, in the first days of her conversations with Alva, she made the attempt to continue her old practice of dissimulation and argument. To his insistence upon Philip's program, the persecution of heresy and the acceptance of the

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[14] *L. de C.*, II. 360, 400.

[15] Combes, ' *Entrevue de Bayonne*, p. 3. It is significant that in the English dispatches of September, concerning St. Bartholomew, there is no mention of the conference, although Smith, the ambassador, who was at Bayonne, in 1565, was troubled at that time as to its import.

Council of Trent, she answered with what was perhaps her only political purpose in being there at all, namely, the marriage of her son Henry and Princess Juana, and of Marguerite to Don Carlos, marriage alliances proposed at the same time with that toward which she was in the course of negotiation with the English ambassador.

Evidently, there must be some further explanation of her sudden change of attitude, so clearly reflected in the Spanish dispatches, than that of political necessity. To this, the same letter of Philip to Pacheco, which has been mentioned in another connection, lends a suggestion toward solution. The phrase "Mi muger" occurs constantly. In telling of Catherine's final assertion of willingness conditionally to accept the Council of Trent, Philip begins, "My wife so terribly pressed her mother. . . ."

Here lies the basic fact of the whole intrigue. Catherine, as is evident in connection with other events, was above all a woman desirous of the affection and, if possible, of the control of her children. Her objection to Philippe de Chantonnay was, more than anything else, that he had written to the pope and to others in many places that she was ill conducting the religious training of her son.[16] Now, at Bayonne, having come, as I believe she truthfully says, "to have the contentment of seeing her daughter", she found Elizabeth entirely given over to the policies and patriotism of Spain. It was she, in whom Catherine had hoped to find caresses, who most effectively maintained her husband's arguments. Rather bitterly Catherine reproaches her, "Vous êtes devenue bien espagnole". The answer is, that it is her duty.[17]

Very shortly afterward Catherine's promise must have been made. The court proceeded to St.-Jean-de-Luz, where mother and daughter saw each other for the last time.

In this light, Catherine's behavior, which was given so great significance by Protestants, in fear of what actually came to pass seven years later, may be understood as the effort of a queen, engaged in intrigues of a conflicting and tortuous nature, almost in disregard of them, to enjoy the presence of her daughter. It may be that this interpretation of events is romantic and uncritical. It is true that the Catholic rapprochement with Philip may have persuaded Catherine to a decision as a way to avoid serious civil troubles. None the less, her human emotion, allied to a disposition of high diplomatic ability, is no figment of later interpretation. Both are testified to by the Venetian ambassador.[18]

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[16] *L. de C.*, II. 149, to St. Sulpice.

[17] Lettenhove, *op. cit.*

[18] Thompson, *Wars of Religion*, p. 27.

GODOY'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE TERMS OF JAY'S TREATY

Recent investigation in the Spanish archives has brought to light a curious document. This is a memoir, or representation, written early in December, 1796, by an undersecretary in the office of Manuel de Godoy, Spanish Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and addressed to Godoy himself.[1] The curious thing is that at first sight the memoir seems to afford the most convincing proof that the Spanish minister was ignorant of the terms of Jay's Treaty when he signed the Treaty of San Lorenzo with Thomas Pinckney (October 27, 1795), and that upon careful examination it leads to the opposite conclusion, supporting the view that Godoy was informed of the terms of the Jay Treaty when he signed with Pinckney.[2] It is also of interest because it enables us to look behind the scenes and catch a glimpse of the Spanish puppet dancing while France pulls the strings.

The memoir states explicitly that at the time of the negotiation with Pinckney the Spanish government knew that Jay's Treaty had been concluded but possessed no knowledge whatever of its contents, except that its stipulations as to commerce were so injurious to the United States as to make its ratification problematical; and it further asserts that copies of the treaty were received shortly after the conclusion of the Treaty of San Lorenzo.[3] A more forthright or circum-

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[1] Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Sección de Estado, legajo 3896 *bis*. (This citation will hereafter be abbreviated as follows: A.H.N., Est.) The memoir was found enclosed in a folder containing dispatch no. 4, Sept. 8, 1796, from Irujo to the Prince of the Peace. The memoir is unsigned and is dated "1796" without month or day, but its approximate date is determined by Godoy's autograph minute on the last page, which is dated Dec. 11, 1796.

[2] For a statement of this view, see A. P. Whitaker, New Light on the Treaty of San Lorenzo, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XV. 435–454.

[3] The most important portion of the memoir is as follows:

"Ex$\overline{mo}$. S^{or}. Quando negociaba V. E. en los meses de Agosto y Setiembre del año pasado de 1795. con el Plenipotenciario Americano Pinckeney el Tratado que firmó con V. E. el 27. de Octubre del mismo año ya se sabia que los Estados Unidos havian concluido en 19. de Noviembre de 1794 otro con la Ynglaterra, pero se ignoraba el contenido de sus Articulos, que el Ministerio Ynglés ocultó con el mayor cuidado todo el tiempo que fue posible, y solo se translucia que dicho tratado seria ratificado con muchas dificultades por los Estados á causa de ser en varios puntos perjudicial á su Comercio.

"Receloso V. E. de lo que podia haver estipulado en él la Gran Bretaña, y teniendo bien presente lo que pactó ésta con los mismos Estados en el Art. 8°. del Tratado de Paz de 1783. sin consentimiento ó aprobacion alguna de S. M. sobre la libre navegacion del Rio Missisipi, redujo V. E. á Pinckney á que firmase en el Articulo 4°.

stantial statement could hardly be desired, and the authenticity of the document is established by an autograph note by Godoy on the last page.[4] There is, however, good reason for maintaining in the face of this evidence that Godoy was fully informed of the terms of Jay's Treaty when he signed with Pinckney at San Lorenzo.

In the first place, the memoir is demonstrably inaccurate in regard to a vitally important point, for it overreaches itself in its assertion of Godoy's utter ignorance of the terms of Jay's Treaty. As a matter of fact, we know that he was informed of several of the provisions of that treaty long before he signed with Pinckney. Two days after the Jay-Grenville negotiation was concluded, the Spanish ambassador in London wrote Godoy that the treaty provided for the evacuation of the Northwest posts and granted the United States commercial privi-

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"'Que la Navegacion del Rio Misisipi desde su nacimiento hasta el Occeano seria libre unicamente para los Vasallos del Rey y los Ciudadanos de los Estados Unidos.'

"Muy poco despues de haver convenido en esto y de firmado el Tratado de 27. de Octubre 1795. se recibieron exemplares del citado de 19. de Noviembre de 1794. en cuyo Articulo 3°. expresaron los Yngleses *que el Rio Misipi* [*sic*] *segun el Tratado de Paz de 1783. seria enteramente libre á las dos partes.*

"Como nuestro Tratado de 27. de Octubre era mui posterior al de los Yngleses, y la ratificacion de éste fue solo condicional y no ha sido absoluta por los Estados hasta el mes de Abril ultimo, no tuvo V E por conveniente representar á los Estados sobre éste punto, y solo previno V E se publicase quando llegase la ocasion la perfidia conque havia tratado á S. M. el Ministerio Yngles, concluyendo con tanto secreto un Articulo tan contrario á los derechos de la España que le eran bien conocidos."

For the sake of brevity the rest of the document may be summarized as follows: the British government, seeing that the Treaty of San Lorenzo was likely to defeat its design of making trouble between Spain and the United States over the Mississippi question, negotiated with the latter power an explanatory article, dated May 4, 1796, which contained the "improper and malicious" stipulation that nothing contained in any subsequent treaty should in any way derogate from the rights of free communication and commerce established by Jay's Treaty (see note 14). Immediately upon learning of this, Godoy directed Irujo, Spain's minister in the United States, to express Spain's doubt as to American good faith in the matter. Hardly had this order been sent when Pérignon, the French ambassador at Madrid, presented a note expressing the resentment of his government at the terms of Jay's Treaty and inviting Spain to coöperate with France in preventing its ratification (*i.e.*, its execution). Accordingly on Oct. 27, 1796, Irujo was instructed to support the representations of the French minister at Philadelphia, and Governor Carondelet of Louisiana was ordered to suspend the evacuation of the Southwest posts.

Godoy replied to Pérignon on Oct. 20, 1796. His note is in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (Paris), *Espagne, Supplément,* 18: 89.

[4] This is dated Dec. 11, 1796, and directs that a note be drawn up for transmission to the French government informing it in detail of Spain's grievances against the United States, in order that the two governments might present a simultaneous expression of their displeasure to that power.

leges in the British West Indies.[5] Furthermore, at the time of his negotiation with Pinckney, Godoy was told by the French government that Jay's Treaty included a stipulation in regard to the navigation of the Mississippi River and that it was in several other respects directed against Spain; and he was warned that England was attempting to obtain control of the commerce of Louisiana and was perhaps acting in concert with the United States, since Pinckney's mission followed so closely upon Jay's Treaty.[6] Finally, Godoy learned from Pinckney himself in the course of their negotiation that Jay's Treaty contained a stipulation to the effect that none of its provisions should " be construed to operate contrary to any former or existing treaty ".[7]

The trustworthiness of the memoir is further diminished by the fact that it represents Godoy as having been not only ignorant of the terms of Jay's Treaty but also " fearful of what Great Britain might have stipulated in it " with regard to the navigation of the Mississippi River. The implication is obvious: Godoy realized the importance of obtaining the text of Jay's Treaty before he concluded the negotiation with Pinckney. How then would the writer of the memoir have explained the fact that Godoy knew at least four weeks before he signed with Pinckney that the text of Jay's Treaty had been published in London and yet made no effort to obtain a copy of it?[8] If the writer had represented his chief's ignorance as blissful his case would have been better, but it is too much to argue the fear of the unknown in the face of the fact just noted. We begin to suspect that the memoir was not drawn up as a candid statement of fact, but as a brief for the defense of Spanish policy.

A still more cogent argument against the trustworthiness of the memoir is provided by a note[9] to the French ambassador, Pérignon, which was drawn up in consequence of Godoy's autograph note on that document and was dated December 15, 1796. A comparison of the corresponding portion of the memoir with the significant passage in the note to Pérignon will show that their versions of this affair are irreconcilable. The memoir's assertion that "the contents of the treaty [Jay's] . . . were not known" does not appear in the note. On the contrary, the phraseology of the memoir was so completely recast when the note was drawn up that the latter gives the impression that Godoy was fully informed of the terms of Jay's Treaty before October 27, 1795. By naming one of the articles of Jay's Treaty (Article III.) that Godoy was acquainted with when he signed with Pinckney, the note gives further proof of the memoir's inaccuracy, and in so far deprives that document of value. Its reliability is completely destroyed by a still more glaring contradiction, for while it represents Godoy as being frightened into signing the Treaty of San Lorenzo by his utter ignorance of the terms of Jay's Treaty, the note to Pérignon represents him as framing the highly important Article IV. of his treaty with Pinckney in the light of his knowledge of Article III. of Jay's Treaty.[10]

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[5] A.H.N., Est., legajo 4249, Campo to Alcudia (Godoy), London, Nov. 21, 1794, endorsed on the cover " No. 4^{o}.", and, in Godoy's hand, " 12^{d}. [*i.e.*, 12 December] al desp[ach]^{o} ". Godoy communicated this information to the Consejo de Estado in its meeting of Dec. 29, 1794, and made it the text of a brief but important statement of Spanish policy towards the United States (*ibid.*, bound volume entitled " Actas del Supremo Consejo de Estado ").

[6] *Ibid.*, legajo 3401, Iriarte to Alcudia, Bâle, May 19, 1795, no. 10; and same to same, Sept. 30, 1795, no. 108. During the summer of 1929 the present writer was fortunately able to find this important file of letters from Iriarte to Godoy (see reference to this subject in Whitaker, *loc. cit.*, 441, note 12). The series is complete, beginning with dispatch no. 1, April 22, 1795, and ending with no. 109, Oct. 2, 1795. The legajo does not contain the dispatches from Godoy to Iriarte, but further investigation should soon bring these to light.

[7] S. F. Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty* (Baltimore, 1926), p. 327.

[8] Whitaker, *loc. cit.*, pp. 441–447.

[9] The present writer found a Spanish draft (A.H.N., Est., legajo 3896 *bis*) and a certified French translation (Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Espagne, Supplément*, 18: 97) of this note to Pérignon. The pertinent portion of the Spanish draft is as follows:

"Quando concluyó S. M. Católica en 27. de Octubre de 1795. su Tratado con los Estados Unidos ya se tenia noticia del que los Yngleses havian firmado en 19. de Noviembre de 1794, y de las dificultades que encontraba su ratificacion por los Estados.

"Para todo evento y a fin de contrarrestar el Art° 3° de dicho tratado en que confirmaban la libertad de la Navegacion del Misisipi que havian pactado con los Estados Unidos en el tratado de Paris de 763. [*sic; i.e.*, 1783] convino S. M. en el Art° 4 del de 27 de 8^{bre} 1795. . . ."

Pérignon's reply, dated 12 Nivôse, An 5 (Jan. 1, 1797), is in *ibid.*, legajo 3891, expediente no. 3. He says that he has hastened to transmit Godoy's note to the French government, and proceeds to argue afresh the question of the retrocession of Louisiana to France.

The present writer did not find the original note that was sent to Pérignon, but he did find the certified French translation (cited above) that Pérignon sent to Paris. The substance of the translation is almost identical with the draft. The slight differences are no more than one might expect in such a case, and they only make the reference to Article III. of Jay's Treaty more explicit. The French translation renders the passage quoted from the draft as follows:

"Lorsque S. M. conclut son traité avec les Etats unis le 27. 8^{bre}. 1795. elle connaissait déja celui qu'ils avaient signé avec les Anglais le 19. 9^{bre}. 1794., et les difficultés qui s'opposaient a sa ratification.

"Afin d'empecher l'effet de l'art 3. du dit traité de 1794. dans lequel les Anglais s'assuraient la liberté de la navigation du Mississipi qu'ils avaient contracté dans celui de 1783, S. M. conveint dans l'art. 4. de celui de 1795. . . ."

The translation is certified by the interpreter of the French embassy at Madrid, Bellocq, and endorsed "Collationné conforme", with the signature of Pérignon as ambassador.

[10] So far as the present writer has been able to ascertain, the only sources from which Godoy could have learned of the contents of Article III. were the

However these facts may be interpreted, they deprive the memoir of value as an honest and accurate record. It is therefore impossible to cite it in support of the thesis that Godoy was ignorant of the terms of Jay's Treaty when he signed the Treaty of San Lorenzo. On the other hand it can not be said that the discovery of the memoir fails to affect the problem of Godoy's information at San Lorenzo. The very fact that the argument of ignorance, which was the best argument that Spain could have advanced at that juncture, was formulated, considered, and abandoned indicates that Godoy's ignorance of the terms of Jay's Treaty was a mere fiction and that the Spanish government itself realized that the fiction could not be maintained. The considerations in support of this view must be set forth very briefly.

The writer of the memoir must have erred either through ignorance or through design. If we assume his ignorance of the facts, we must conclude that before October 27, 1795, Godoy had obtained information about Jay's Treaty which he did not share with his subordinates; and the note to Pérignon indicates that this information was extensive and probably complete. If we assume that the misrepresentations of the memoir were due to design, the reader may still wonder why an undersecretary should incorporate in a communication addressed to his chief, statements that the latter knew to be inaccurate. The reason is that such documents were in effect state papers in embryo, since they served as a basis for the drafting of notes and dispatches. So it was with this memoir, portions of which were inserted almost verbatim in the note to Pérignon of December 15, 1796. It would seem therefore that the writer's intention was to propose to Godoy the adoption of a useful fiction in order to strengthen Spain's position in the impending diplomatic controversy with the United States. A controversy had been made certain by an order, dated October 29, 1796, in which Godoy directed the governor of Louisiana to suspend the evacuation of the posts in the Natchez district.[11] This order marked an abrupt change of policy, for Spain had previously given abundant evidence that it intended to execute faithfully the Treaty of San Lorenzo. It was apparently in order to justify this tergiversation that the memoir set up the plea of ignorance of the terms of Jay's Treaty. Since its official publication had indeed occurred several weeks after the conclusion of the Treaty of San Lorenzo, the writer may have hoped to conceal the fact that

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Philadelphia and London newspapers (of July 1 and 2, and August 13 and 15 respectively) which published the full text of Jay's Treaty, and the Paris *Moniteur* (of August 28) which published an extensive summary of its contents (see Whitaker, *loc. cit.*, pp. 446–447, and note 12).

[11] See note 15.

the unofficial text, published in Philadelphia on July 1 and in London on August 13 and 15, had come to the knowledge of his government before October 27, 1795. The plea of ignorance would also serve to conceal the true reason for Spain's change of policy toward the United States, which was simply a change in its relations with France.

Spain's change of policy was not due to the fact that the government had received the official text of Jay's Treaty subsequent to October 27, 1795, for, although it was unquestionably in possession of such a copy by the end of February, 1796,[12] it ratified the Treaty of San Lorenzo in April, and in June and again in August directed the governor of Louisiana to surrender the Southwest posts to the United States.[13] Nor was Spain's change of policy due to a knowledge of the explanatory article concluded by Great Britain and the United States on May 4, 1796,[14] for when Godoy learned of this event in September he merely ordered the Spanish minister at Philadelphia, Irujo, to remonstrate with the American government, and made no effort to prevent the surrender of the posts. That the change of policy was due directly to French influence is shown by the memoir itself, for it states categorically that it was a note from Pérignon of October 16, 1796, that induced Godoy to write the governor of Louisiana the dispatch of October 29, 1796, ordering him to suspend the evacuation of the Southwest posts until further notice.[15] At the same time, and for the same reason, Godoy instructed Irujo to concert measures with the French minister at Philadelphia and make a joint protest against Jay's Treaty. Spain was already becoming the satellite of France, and French influence was threatening to embroil her with the United States. These were the circumstances under which the memoir of December, 1796, was drawn up. Let it be repeated that the memoir was intended to serve as the basis for a note to Pérignon. He was to transmit it to his government; and the object of the note was to ensure the diplomatic support of France in a controversy brought on by French influence, as well as to outline the argument that the Spanish and French ministers might most advantageously adopt in their representations to the American government.

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[12] A.H.N., Est., legajo 4231, Las Casas to the Prince of the Peace (Godoy), London, Dec. 22, 1795, enclosing a printed copy of Jay's Treaty "Published by Authority . . . Printed by Edward Johnston, in Warwick". Godoy's marginal notation on the dispatch is dated Feb. 27, 1796.

[13] A copy of the order of June 1, 1796, is in the Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 1447. For the August order see note 15.

[14] *Am. State Pap., For. Rel.*, I. 552–553. The article was negotiated by Phineas Bond and Timothy Pickering. See note 3 for the memoir's reference to it.

[15] Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2354, Carondelet to Gayoso, New Orleans, March 5, 1797, quoting the order of Oct. 29, 1796, which he had received from Godoy. Godoy's order gave the date and substance of the order of August 27, 1796.

The argument was a powerful one. It was a pity that it was based upon an obvious misstatement of facts. Before the consequent note to Pérignon was drafted, either Godoy or his advisers realized that not even Spain's French allies could swallow such palpable untruths, and that they would receive short shrift in the foreign office of the United States. It was through the French government that Godoy had received important information about Jay's Treaty long before he signed with Thomas Pinckney; and there is good reason to believe that Pinckney knew the Spanish government was in possession of a copy of Jay's Treaty a full month before the conclusion of his own negotiation.[16] It was probably in the light of these considerations that the memoir was revised and the fiction of ignorance abandoned.[17] In other words, the memoir represents the case that the Spanish government would have liked to be able to maintain, while the note to Pérignon represents the profound modification of this wish through contact with reality. That the plea of ignorance was abandoned when Godoy drew up the note to Pérignon and was not revived when he wrote his *Memoirs*[18] forty years later seems to confirm the view, set forth at length elsewhere,[19] that he was in possession of the text of Jay's Treaty when he signed the Treaty of San Lorenzo.

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[16] Whitaker, *loc. cit.*, pp. 446–447. In a report of Jan. 22, 1798, Secretary of State Pickering said: ". . . I am now authorized to assert . . . that when the Treaty between the United States and Spain was negociated by Mr. Pinckney with the Prince of Peace, the latter was furnished with an entire copy of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Great Britain . . ." (*Am. State. Pap., For. Rel.*, II. 83; see also note 17). It was probably by Thomas Pinckney himself that Pickering was "authorized to assert" this fact. Three days before the date of Pickering's report Pinckney spoke in the House of Representatives in opposition to an amendment that would have reduced the diplomatic representation of the United States abroad, and his speech alluded to the controversy with Spain over the execution of the Treaty of 1795 (*Annals of Congress*, 5 Cong. 2 sess., 630, 864–866).

[17] It is true that in a note of May 6, 1797, to Pickering, Irujo implied that the Spanish government was ignorant of the terms of Jay's Treaty when it concluded the Treaty of San Lorenzo (*Am. State Pap., For. Rel.*, II. 14, 15); but the statement was not made explicitly and Irujo attempted no rejoinder either at first when Pickering suggested or later when he positively asserted that Godoy did possess that information (*ibid.*, pp. 16, 17, and 101). These facts, together with the note to Pérignon of Dec. 15, 1796, seem to justify us in saying that the pretence of ignorance was abandoned.

[18] See the French translation by J. G. d'Esménard, *Mémoires du Prince de la Paix* (Paris, 1836), I. 340–343, and III. 36, 37. Godoy's explanation rather indicates that he was fully informed of the terms of Jay's Treaty.

[19] See the article cited in note 2.

DOCUMENTS

The London Expenditures of the Confederate Secret Service

At some time about 1908 or 1909 the late Mr. Charles Francis Adams asked the undersigned to see if the papers of John Slidell could be found. Application was naturally made to the late Mr. Henry Vignaud who, it will perhaps be remembered, went to Paris as Slidell's secretary and, remaining there, was for more than thirty years secretary of the United States legation and embassy in France. Mr. Vignaud replied that Slidell's papers had been destroyed by his daughters, who had married French noblemen, and had, according to present remembrance, already died at the time of the correspondence. Expressing his regret that he could do so little to promote the historical interests of Mr. Adams and others in this aspect of Confederate history, Mr. Vignaud, to make, as he said, such amends as were in his power, sent to the writer all the papers that he had remaining from those days. These consisted of a body of letters, and a dispatch-book, January 6, 1862–December 31, 1864, of Henry Hotze, Confederate commercial agent in London, a letter-book of general correspondence, May 28, 1864–June 16, 1865, and a letter- and cash-book. Mr. Vignaud suggested that, after Mr. Adams had done with them, they might be placed in the Library of Congress. After the death of Mr. Adams these books and papers were lost for a time, but in 1929 the documents, with the exception of the last named, were discovered by Dr. Worthington C. Ford, who sent them to the Library of Congress.

As the Library has, in the collection which has somewhat unfortunately been known by the name of the Pickett Papers, the originals of the consular dispatches of Hotze to Secretary Benjamin, the material in the dispatch-book merely duplicates, in the main, the material already possessed by the Library. That volume, however, has at the back, following the dispatch of December 31, 1864, which is here for the first time printed, a series of accounts informing the secretary of the agent's expenditures for the secret service of the Confederacy. These accounts will, it is thought, be of much interest to the student of Confederate operations. It is unfortunate that they can not be supplemented from the accounts in the cash-book, of which all that can now be remembered is that they name certain Continental journals (one in Brussels, for instance, and one in Frankfurt) which had been found receptive of propaganda and that they showed Percy Greg, whose pro-Confederate *History of the United States* (London,

1887) is perhaps remembered, to have been a paid writer for the *Index*.

Henry Hotze, a native of Switzerland, was born in Zurich in 1834, came as a child to the United States and was naturalized when he became twenty-one. In 1856 he published a book entitled *The Moral and Intellectual Diversity of Races,* a condensation and adaptation of Gobineau's *L'Inégalité des Races.* He was secretary of the United States legation in Belgium in 1858–1859 and was associate editor of the Mobile *Register* in 1859–1861.[1] In the latter year he enlisted in the 3rd Alabama Regiment, but the Confederate Secretary of War, Walker, presently sent him on a mission to Europe, and soon after his return the Secretary of State, Hunter, commissioned him as commercial agent of the Confederate States at London. In his instructions, November 14, 1861, the secretary says: "You will be diligent and earnest in your efforts to impress upon the public mind abroad the ability of the Confederate States to maintain their independence, and to this end you will publish whatever information you possess calculated to convey a just idea of their ample resources and vast military strength and to raise their character and government in general estimation."

Hotze arrived at Havana on the last day of 1861, and at London at the end of the next month.[2] He founded the *Index,* and, besides serving as commercial agent, carried out effectively the instructions which have been quoted. In a dispatch of March 14, 1863, to Secretary Benjamin, he says: "I have given partial employment by means of the *Index* up to the present time, exclusive of permanent assistance, to seven writers on the daily London press. Of these, concentration of my efforts being a leading object, four are colleagues of one editorial corps. The disbursements for little personal compliments such as boxes of cigars imported from Havana through the aid of Mr. Helm, American Whiskey, and other articles which not being generally procurable, form acceptable presents, it is of course out of the question to give vouchers for." J. F. JAMESON.

The Library of Congress.

C. S. Commercial Agency
LONDON Dec. 31, 1864

No. 52.
To Hon. J. P. Benjamin
Secretary of State
Richmond.

Sir

I have the honor to submit statements of my Secret Service Expenditures during the period embraced between the date of my original Instructions of November 14, 1861, and this day [pp. 814 ff.]. For the periods respectively ending Dec. 31, 1862 and Dec. 31, 1863, these statements are in the form of regular a/cs accompanied by vouchers which latter are for the most part and as far as possible explanatory of the several items, the object being to give you an accurate idea of the extent of my transactions and to enable you to judge whether in any particular the limits intended by you have been exceeded or whether the several expenditures are proportionate to the desired end. For more complete details, the delicate nature of such expenditures, some of which are not susceptible of vouchers and others involve the names of persons and the exposition of motives not easily made in writing, a personal interview and the production of a voluminous correspondence would be indispensable, even if our postal communications were in a perfectly satisfactory state. For the year just ended this form was unavailable, partly because time is wanting to prepare and arrange the vouchers, partly because many of the subordinate a/cs are not yet finally adjusted, and I have therefore adopted the form of a general Exhibit, from which the subsequent account to be rendered may somewhat differ in detail but not materially in the aggregate. I have, however, endeavoured to render the Exhibit intelligible and sufficiently explanatory for present purposes, by the remarks and references to despatches on its face. The explanations accompanying the first two Statements will also serve to elucidate similar charges on the Exhibit.

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[1] Mobile *Register,* May 11, 1887.

[2] James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy,* II. 147, 149.

Though it is not my purpose to weary you with specific remarks upon the several items of these accounts, there is yet one which I cannot let pass without observation, since it will doubtless surprise you as much as it did me at first. It is that of postage which is as large as might reasonably be estimated for a first class Embassy or a governmental department of a minor Power. Yet, after various tests, I have only too serious reasons to be convinced that in this as in other charges if there is any error it is against myself, though I have of course followed the universal practice of the diplomatic and Consular services of all countries, including my very moderate private postage. To account for the largeness of this item several things must be taken into consideration besides my own most extensive and ramified official correspondence, and the fact that some twenty newspapers in England, the Continent and the North are furnished through me with regular newspaper correspondence. I have been in some degree acting as a dispatch agent, and the heavy packages which nearly every Bermuda or Nassau mail brings me, and which sometimes contain printed matter so put up as to be subject to letter postage, have often nothing but a private letter or two for myself. Since the outbreak of the war the British Post Office has doubled the postage to the Islands, making it 2/ per oz, so that I not unfrequently pay several pounds sterling for a single mail received. The postage to the Continent is scarcely less onerous being to France 1/4 and to most other countries 2/ per oz. It is of course, unless this were the business of a special officer, difficult and in many cases impossible to collect the outlay again. You will I hope understand that this digression is purely by way of explanation, and in no sense of complaint.

The Contingent Allowance for such purposes as were contemplated by my original instructions and more fully specified in your No 12, Oct. 6, 1863, has at various times received such expansions as to render it difficult to make its variable periods coincide with yearly accounts. You will however find that without construing its limitations too literally, the

[cont'd p. 822]

(A)

The C. S State Department Secret Service Fund in a/c with
Henry Hotze Commercial Agent at London From Nov 14, 61 to Dec 31. 62

D^r

1861			No of Voucher	£	s	d	$	c
Novr.	To	Loss on Exchange—($361.11 Treasury Notes netting)	1				45	86
"	"	Purchases of Books, Maps, Coast Survey Charts, Photographs; also outlays in Preliminary Arrangements for regular communications, and unavoidable expenses attending my detention by order of the State Department	2				388	89
1862	"	Loss in Purchase of Gold for Travelling Expenses	3				81	"
Jany. 29	"	Travelling Expenses from Richmond viâ Mobile, Havanah, St. Thomas and Southampton, to London	4	83	"	"	402	55
Decr. 31	"	Clerk Hire, copying, etc., from Feby. 1st to Dec'r 31st	5	44	2	"	213	88
"	"	Office Rent from Feb'y 1st to June 7th	6	35	14	"	173	13
"	"	Postage Account from February 1st to Dec'r 31st	7	60	"	"	291	"
"	"	Stationery Account " Do. to Do.	8	18	17	10	91	62
"	"	Newspapers including Subscriptions, purchase of extra copies for distribution and for use of State Department	9	57	"	"	276	45
"	"	Entertainments, Presents, and Miscellaneous Expenses contemplated and authorized by Instructions dated November 14th 1861 [3]	10	114	17	"	557	02
"	"	Translation into German of Mr. Spence's Book "The American Union" [4]	11	41	"	"	198	85
"	"	Subsidy to *Index* [5] from May 1st to October 31st 13 Weeks at £ 15. . . . . £ 195. 0. 0. 13 Do at £ 20 . . . . £ 260. 0. 0	12	455			2206	75
		Subsidy from October 31st to December 31st charged to account of 1863 for the purpose of making the charge coincident with the semi-annual Balance Sheet of the Index Office, rendered May 1st, 1863.						
							$4927	00

1863				
Jany.	1	To Balance—Expenditure in excess of Remittances—	$1464	50

(A)
The C. S. State Department Secret Service Fund in a/c with Henry Hotze Commercial Agent at London From Nov. 14. 61 to Dec. 31. 62

Cr.

Receipt Date	Acknowledged No of Despatch		£	s	d	$	C.
1861							
Novr. 14		By Treasury Notes received in Richmond				750	00
1862							
Aug. 4	No 9	" Cash through Mr. De Leon[6]				1500	00
Dec. 20	No 16	" Cash from Mr. De Leon, on recommendation of Commissioners	250	"	"	1212	50
" 31		" Balance				1464	50
						$4927	00

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[3] Hunter to Hotze, in J. D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, II. 115.

[4] James Spence, of Liverpool, *Die amerikanische Union, ihre Einwirkung auf National-Charakter und Politik* (Barmen, 1863); translated from the fourth London edition of *The American Union.* A French translation was also published.

[5] The newspaper published in London in the Confederate interest, 1862–1865.

[6] Edwin De Leon, formerly U. S. consul at Alexandria, appointed in 1862 as confidential agent of the Confederate Department of State and supplied with $25,000 (and later with £1000 more) "as a secret service fund to be used by him for the special service of obtaining the insertion in the public journals of Great Britain and the Continent [of] such articles as may be useful in enlightening public opinion in relation to" the Confederacy. Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, II. 224, 233. De Leon printed some reminiscences of his European service in the second volume of *Thirty Years of my Life on Three Continents* (London, 1890). He dealt with the French press while Hotze till 1864 operated chiefly in England.

(B)
The C. S. State Department Secret Service Fund in a/c with
Henry Hotze Commercial Agent at London Jany 1 to Decr. 31, 1863

Dr.

1863			No of Voucher	£	s	d	$	C.
Dec'r. 31.	To	Balance from last Balance Sheet					1464	50
"	"	Subsidy to *Index* from October 23rd 62 to Decr. 31st 63: 14 months and 1 week	1	1995	"	"	9675	75
"	"	Publications						
"	"	"*Address to Christians.*" [7]—200,000 copies printed and inserted in various Religious and Leading Political Publications—equal share of expense paid by Mr. De Leon—Motive explained in Despatch No 26, of July 23rd.[8]	2	154	0	1	746	92
"	"	"*Fourteen Months in American Bastiles*" [9] reprinted from Bal[ti]more edition at Mr. Mason's request.	3	37	4	"	180	41
"	"	"*La Question Mexicaine*" [10] referred to in Despatch No 37 of Feb. 13, 1864	4	30			145	50
		"Confederate Flag" in combination with English flag exhibited in colored posters in London and principal towns as well as at the Railway Stations of the United Kingdom—mentioned in Despatch No 23, June 6, 1863 [11]	5	107	12	6	521	98
		Pamphlet of J. W. Cowell [12]	6	5	"	"	24	25
		L'Alliance Russo-Americaine	7	2	"	"	9	70
"	"	Newspapers, Subscriptions to and purchase of extra copies for distribution etc	8	98	15	4	479	02
"	"	Private Mail Route to Richmond to Dec. 2, 1863—on account	9	20	"	"	97	00
"	"	Office Rent from Feby. 2nd to Decr. 31st	10	117	10	"	569	87
"	"	Clerical Assistance and Office Expenses	11	15	8	"	74	68
"	"	Stationery	12	21	13	5	105	10
"	"	Postage	13	98	3	"	476	02
"	"	Entertainments and Miscellaneous Expenses contemplated by Instructions of Novr. 14, 1861 and further confirmed in Despatch No 12, dated Oct. 6, 1863, from Secretary of State.	14	313	"	"	1518	05
"	"	Continental Press—Italy—explained in Despatch No. 27, dated Aug. 27 [1863].	15	12	"	"	58	20
"	"	Travelling Expenses	16	27	10	"	133	37
"	"	Irish Account—Lieut. Capston's [13] Salary for the 4 months ending Dec 4	17	84	"	"	407	40
"	"	Balance					1804	83
							$18492	55

The C. S. State Department Secret Service Fund in a/c with
Henry Hotze Commercial Agent at London Jany. 1 to Dec. 31, 1863

Cr.

Receipt Date	Acknowledged No. of Despatch		£	s	d	$	C
1863							
Jany. 17	No. 17	By Treasury Warrant No 3359 dated Novr. 4th 1862	232	"	"	1125	20
March 14	No. 19	" Do. " 3689 " Jany. 16th 1863	1000	"	"	4850	00
Octr 31	No. 31	" Do. " 5160 " Sept. 19th 1863	1000	"	"	4850	00
"	" "	" Balance Transferred by Col. Lamar [14]	394	13	"	1914	04
Nov. 28	No. 33	" Treasury Warrant No 5250 dated Oct 6th 1863	1000	"	"	4850	00
		Irish A/C					
		By Balance of Funds deposited with me by Lieut. J. L. Capston after deducting Travelling Expenses and one month's Salary in arrear	186	5	"	903	31
						$18492	55

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[7] *Address to Christians throughout the World, by the Clergy of the Confederate States of America*, pamphlet [London, 1862].

[8] July 23, 1863: "Finding that the Address of the Southern Clergy to Christians throughout the world had produced excellent effects wherever it could be brought under public notice, I have not contented myself with merely publishing a pamphlet edition, but have arranged that a copy shall be stitched up under the same cover with this or the next month's number of every respectable religious publication, as also the two leading political reviews, the Quarterly and the Edinburgh, just out. A quarter of a million copies of the Address are by this means brought under the eyes of between one and two millions of readers in every part of the world where the English language is spoken." The Library of Congress copy of the *Address* is stitched in with the current number of the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, a strongly anti-slavery publication.

[9] Pamphlet, 89 pp., by Frank Key Howard (Baltimore and London, 1863).

[10] *La Question Mexicaine, Enquête . . . M. de Saligny* (Paris, 1861).

[11] "I have taken measures to placard every available space in the streets of London with representations of our newly adopted flag, conjoined to the British National ensign."

[12] John W. Cowell, *Southern Secession* (London, 1862).

[13] Agent in Ireland; see L. F. Stock in *Catholic Historical Review*, XVI. 6.

[14] L. Q. C. Lamar (afterward Secretary of the Interior and an associate justice of the Supreme Court U. S.), who had come as far as London in March, 1853, on an abortive Confederate mission to Russia. See Bigelow, *Retrospections*, II. 33, 34, and Henry Adams, *Education*, pp. 161–162.

(C)
Exhibit of the Disbursements of the Secret Service Fund of the C. S. Commercial Agency at London from Jany. 1 to Decr. 31, 1864

Dr.

	Frs.	C.	£	s	d	£	s	d
England								
The *Index* during year by authority of Sec'y of State's Despatch No. 3, dated July 16. 1863						2000	"	"
Publications								
"*Alexandra Case*"—Sir Hugh Cairns' Speech [15]			11	16	"			
"*Brief Reply* to Goldwin Smith" on Slavery, 75 copies			1	17	6			
"*Slavery*" by Governor Morehead—Results of Federal Emancipation			5	6	"			
"*Presidential Messages* of 1864"			14	8	3			
"*Foreign Enlistment Acts* of England and America", by Vigilans [16]			44	13	"			
"*Dalgren Papers*", Facsimile Insertion in Autographic Mirror [17]			25	"	"			
Emigration in Ireland—2000 copies of Lord C. Howard's Speech, for distribution in Ireland			10	"	"			
President Davis's Busts £ 15.0.0 Stonewall Jackson's Photographs £ 20.			35	"	"	148	0	9
Ordinary Miscellaneous Expenses								
Office Rent, 52 weeks at £ 2.10.0			130	"	"			
Secretary's Salary, 12 months at £ 16.0.0			192	"	"			
Postage during year			127	5	10			
Office Expenses—Petty cash—such as Omnibus and Cab Hire, Messenger's fees, etc.			50	17	4			
Stationery—including a Despatch Box			34	18	11			
Books for use of Office			7	7	6			
Newspapers, for Office use, purchases for distribution and special subscription			86	16	11			
Entertainments, Presents, etc., authorized in No. 12, Oct. 6. 63, not including those on French a/c			116	14	"			
Anthropological Society—contribution to its Library Fund			5	5	"			
Society for promoting Cessation of Hostilities—contribution			5	"	"			
Compensation of Correspondents, to Continental and American Papers, made for convenience and economy through Index Office, but having otherwise no relation to Editorial or Business Departments of that Office			221	"	"	977	5	6

(C)

Exhibit of the Disbursements of the Secret Service Fund of the
C. S. Commercial Agency at London from Jany. 1 to Decr. 31, 1864
(*Continued*)

Dr.	Frs.	C.	£	s	d	£	s	d
Extraordinary Expenses								
Exposure of Mallory Despatch Forgery in New York			13	"	"			
Postal Route to Richmond—Final Settlement for whole period deducting £ 10 charged to Capt. Bullock.[18]			110	7	3			
Peace Address—Contribution at personal instance of Sir H. de Hoghton [19] (See my No 49)			150	"	"			
George McHenry [20]—at joint recommendation of Commissioners (See No. 49, Sep. 17)			300	"	"			
Interest and Commission charged by Bankers for services in my official transactions			22	13	5			
Mrs. J. L. Brand, upon order of Secretary of State for $300 at $4.85.			30	18	7	626	19	3
Ireland								
Lieut. Capston, 12 months salary at £ 21.			252	"	"			
Enlistment Examination, furnished Lieut. Capston for special expenses			10	"	"			
Capt. Lalor,[21] 10 month's salary from Feb. 24 to Dec 24 at £ 30.			300	"	"			
Father Bannon,[22] Contingent Expenses assumed by me, See No 38 March 12			82	15	1			
Contingent Expenses of Irish Agents not yet audited—estimated at.			100	"		744	15	1

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[15] Speech of Sir Hugh Cairns, solicitor general (afterward Lord Cairns, chancellor), in the House of Commons, Feb. 23, 1864, on the government's detention of the *Alexandra*.

[16] On the *Alexandra* and the rams (London, 1864).

[17] Papers, photographed in Richmond as found on the body of Col. Ulric Dahlgren, enjoining the men who took part in his raid to kill Davis and his Cabinet. Facsimiles of them may be found on plates 64 and 65 of vol. I. of the *Autographic Mirror* (lithographs, with letterpress, London, 1864). The evidence that they were not genuine is summarized in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, IV. 96.

[18] Capt. James D. Bulloch, author of *The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe* (New York, 1884); uncle of President Roosevelt.

[19] Sir Henry de Hoghton (1821–1876), ninth baronet.

[20] On George McHenry and his *Statement of Facts relating to the approaching Cotton Crisis*, prepared in 1864 and printed by the Confederate House of Representatives at the beginning of 1865, see the late C. F. Adams in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XLVII. 279–287.

[21] Capt. J. F. Lalor, secret agent in Ireland.

[22] The fullest account of the activities of Father Bannon in Ireland is to be found in the presidential address of Dr. L. F. Stock before the American Catholic Historical Association, Dec. 28, 1929, in *Catholic Historical Review*, XVI. 1–18.

(C)

Exhibit of the Disbursements of the Secret Service Fund of the C. S. Commercial Agency at London from Jany. 1 to Decr. 31, 1864

(*Continued*)

Dr.

	Frs.	C.	£	s	d	£	s	d
The Continent								
Telegraphing (See my No. 42, May 7th)								
Jany. £ 4.15.0 April £ 10.7.6 July £ 14.15.3 Octr. 28.12.4								
Feby. £ 1.0.0 May £ 21.12.4 Aug £ 24.18.9 Novr. 32.3.11			209	13	9			
March £ 3.17.0 June £ 26.1.0 Sept. £ 24.17.10 Decr. 16.12.10								
Miscellaneous Expenses. (Full names sent separately)								
J. P. and D. de G. (Officials) } under existing arrangements of Mr.	1000	00						
De Leon subsequently discontinued								
M. D. (Newspaper) } (See No 41 Ap. 16)	670	00						
Self (Travelling Expenses, Entertainments in Paris, etc. etc. including one journey to Germany.	2425	00	& 50	"	"			
Agence Havas (Subscription to its Publications	1080	00						
H. V (Sub-Agent) mentioned in my No 47, July 29.[23]	4100	00						
Newspapers, Subscriptions and purchase of copies	350	00						
F. A. (Journalist)	2100	00	& 23	2	6			
H. B. (Journalist) [24]	900	00						
J. H. (Journalist) [25]			34	"	"			
J. B (*La Question Americaine en 1864*) Mr. Slidell's recommendation	300	00						
J. F. C. (Resident London Correspondent of various Continental journals employed by me at £ 5.5.0—13 weeks			68	5	"			
F. M. (Sub-Agent at Turin) [26]	3000	00	33	12	10			
La Razza Negra—(Italian Publication)	1000	00						
S. R. (Sub-Agent at Frankfort) [27] See No 51 Nov. 26	4000	00	40	"	"			
M. K. (Journalist at Frankfort)	375	00	22	"	"			
J. W. (Travelling Expenses to Berlin, under my instructions to establish telegraphic relations there			15	6	"			
Books purchased for distribution in Germany (Williams' and Spence's)			60	5	6			
Francs approximately calculated at 25 frs to the £ as Exchange a/c cannot yet be made up. Frs. 21,000 =			852	"	"			
						1408	15	7
						£ 5905	16	2

(C)

Exhibit of the Disbursements of the Secret Service Fund of the C. S. Commercial Agency at London from Jany. 1 to Decr. 31, 1864

C^{r}.

By	Balance from last Balance Sheet	$1804.83	372	2	7
"	Treasury Warrant No 5755 acknowledged in	No 40 of April 16th	2000	"	"
"	Do. No 6265 do.	No. 45 of July 4th	2000	"	"
"	Balance		1533	13	7
			£ 5905	16	2

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[23] Henry Vignaud.

[24] H. Bowes, Paris.

[25] James Hamilton, correspondent in Paris for the *Index* and the New York *Daily News*.

[26] F. Manetta, "an Italian gentleman, recommended by Mr. Macfarland, in whose family in Virginia he had long resided". Dispatch of Aug. 27, 1863.

[27] Samuel Ricker, formerly U. S. consul general at Frankfurt.

doing of which on my first arrival would, as I explained at the time, have left me with almost no funds at all, I have generally kept within the amount fixed for that special purpose. But in this as well as other respects I have always considered any increase in my means, unless your directions should specially refer to some expense already incurred, as being prospective in its effects, leaving such arrears as might be due to me for final adjudication, and this was the more necessary as my operations rapidly occupied a wider field and that liberal private support which helped me so efficiently over my first difficulties became gradually exhausted. You will see that when I incurred expenses for which I had neither the means nor the authority, such as those involved in the establishment of the Index, I did not hesitate to use the money of my friends and so far as it went, my own. It is true, owing to the prolongation of the war, the enterprise would have wholly failed but for your prompt and liberal support, but the private contributions to it have not been and are not expected to be repaid. By your No 3, Jan. 16, 1863, I was authorized to expend, in case of necessity, the whole of an annual allowance of £2000 upon the Index. My account for that year shows that in 14 months the Govt. subsidy to the paper did not quite reach that amount, though a considerably larger sum was actually expended upon it. The improved business prospects of the paper in the beginning of 1864 led me to hope that I might effect a saving out of this £2000 during the year, at least sufficient to pay for miscellaneous publications which seemed from time to time advisable. I had not, however, allowed for the effect which the extension of my operations to the Continent would have upon a machinery already driven at its highest rate of speed, and overcharged with work only remotely connected with its ordinary functions. To a number of contributors and foreign correspondents whose employment only incidentally, if at all, benefitted the paper, there was now added the weight of such portions of my French operations as I thought could best and at least expense be conducted through the same channel. The permanent staff had to be largely increased, and was constructed, if you will pardon me the simile, very much on the principle of a voltaic pile, communicating by invisible wires with almost every great centre of intelligence in Europe and America. Other expenses rose in proportion; the circulation forced up to 2250 did not become correspondingly productive, and I was compelled not only to give to the paper the whole of its allowance, but to relieve it of some of its burdens by assuming a portion at least of the compensation for extra services. In round numbers the Index earned during the year about £2000, upon which a paper having no other interests but its own to subserve might possibly though precariously exist; and it spent under my impetus about £4,700 of which some £500 are upon its own shoulders or rather those of Mr. H. O. Brewer[28] and myself. It is true that of this deficit a portion can be met by the resources of the other[29] itself, and another portion being outlays for a cheap lease of a house, and repairing and furnishing the same, thereby representing a material and merchantable value, would under no circumstances have been permitted by me to be met out of the Government allowance. But it will need no explanation that the Index with such duties imposed upon it could be *edited* and published in two small rooms of a back street as it was until the present year, or that the laborious routine of editorial supervision could continue to be done, as it had long been done to save expense, by me.

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[28] Head of a firm of commission and shipping merchants in Mobile.

[29] Error for "paper"?

As to my Continental operations you will see from the Exhibit that, independently of such expenditures which could not be properly separated from those of the Index, the cost has largely exceeded my estimate, but you will do me the justice to remember that my expectations of success, so far as the French press is concerned, have also been largely exceeded. I have profited by every opportunity that offered, being encouraged to do so by your reply to my request for £1000 on the French account, that you had already in the meanwhile sent me £2000, and I have no fear that on becoming acquainted with the details of my operations you will blame me for either extravagance or reckless use of money. In many respects my French machinery is more complete, works with greater neatness and preciseness, and produces more striking effects than anything I have ever been able to do in England. This is because the physiology of presses is essentially different. In the one the vital organ, so to speak, resembles a stomach, which, if access is found, can be freely dosed with tonics or stimulants; in the other you must be able to reach the rich and strong blood, and this can only be done by inoculation. The process of judicious treatment and its immediate effects necessarily differ in the two cases. But it is pleasant for me to believe that if in the French press where before an occasional favorable mention had to be begged as a great favor, we have now the almost undivided ear of three fourths of the newspaper reading public, and if in the English press no European question, not even that of the Dano German war which touched English sympathies so nearly and threatened English interests so seriously, and of which not probably six men in the Empire pretended to know accurately the cause, has ever been so generally and so thoroughly understood—I have been one among the many moral and intellectual agencies which jointly contributed to this result. That the action of the Governments has not been affected by those agencies is a matter of grievous disappointment to me, but not of discouragement, for I know that the good opinion of the world is a precious thing to every nation, whether old or young, and that if we have gained no political victory in Europe we have sustained no moral defeat.

My general plan of operations I have before explained. It is to act rather with persons than with things, rather upon the individual writer than upon the newspaper impersonality of which he forms a part. It is moreover to make my contributions to the press rather acceptable through their freshness and authenticity of the intelligence they contain or the value of the argument they supply, than to buy entrance for them as for an advertisement. It is next to so manage the echoes as to produce reverberations at distant points so that no important sound should be wholly lost. For this purpose I have a system of correspondence to and from England and France, and to and from Europe and the Northern States, and as I do not use this machinery as a toy, it is rare that I miss at any given moment the desired effect. If an arrangement succeed to which I have several times guardedly alluded in my recent despatches and which in spite of most desperate efforts on my part is still not yet beyond the risk of failure, I shall consider my machinery as very nearly complete, and two year's patient study and planning amply rewarded. As it is I do not think that any Government has superior facilities of publicity outside its own territory than we already possess, at least as regards promptness and universality. One step more, but that beset with apparently almost insuperable difficulties, will give us a fair claim to possess the best. But whether I succeed or not in making this step, it is obvious that my plan requires a large staff of able and well trained writers placed at many different points, and this in spite of every effort of economy involves a large outlay. It is obvious also that as my field widens before me, my individual exertions become less adequate, and though I " inspire " more I write much less than I formerly did. A great part of my work, to be well done, must be done by proxy, and this will account, among other items, for that " J. F. C."[30] in the Exhibit.

Some of these explanations seemed to me necessary as accompanying my accounts. I might have added others which pressure of time excludes for the present. Still others there are, relating to plans now in hand, which I cannot yet make without greatly increasing the chances of failure, which have been prosecuted thus far entirely at my personal risk or rather at that of friends whose patience is not yet entirely exhausted, and which have greatly added to my pecuniary difficulties. About the two large items which I have classed among " extraordinary expenditures ", having already written about them, I need here say nothing more than to remind you that while I do not wish to shirk my own responsibility it is in these cases a divided one.

In what I have said in explanation of my actions, I hope that I have avoided the appearance, as I certainly am not conscious of the intention, of any egotistical declarations or self-assertion. I wish you to judge of the result as you see it yourself, and not as I see it. My main object has been to give you a sort of budget for my expenditures during the incoming year on the present scale so that you might retrench where you deemed proper, or cancel it altogether. It will be safe to take the Exhibit as such a Budget leaving thereby room for any expenditure you may direct in Germany. In other words at the present rate, I shall require about £6000 during the year 1864,[31] exclusive of the heavy balance now appearing in my favor, and which represents an indebtedness on my part to Mr. McRae and others of my helping friends. In your No 18, April 22nd, you write: . . . " As I have thus placed in your hands the duty of disbursing different amounts of the S. S. Fund not directly connected with the duties which were originally confided to you, I shall from time to time make you remittances adequate to these increased charges." My last remittance was acknowledged July 4th, and I have confidently expected another during the latter half of the year, which from the known miscarriage of three Government mails since your last date of September 17th, I suppose must have miscarried. Still in the anxiety in which I am placed by pecuniary pressure and real peril, the unpleasant suspicion sometimes crosses my mind that I misconstrued your instructions and exceeded the limits you intended to fix, and that consequently you are not aware of the extremely dangerous position in which the whole of my operations are placed.

I remain
With great respect
Your obedient servant.

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[30] J. F. Condon, *Index* office.

[31] Meaning, 1865.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. Editor-in-Chief, Edwin R. A. Seligman; Associate Editor, Alvin Johnson. Volume I., Aaronson-Allegiance. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xxvii, 646. $7.50.)

The jacket on the first volume of the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* announces the scope for the series: anthropology, economics, education, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, social work, sociology, statistics. Not all students were aware that the frontiers of social science had been pushed out to include a domain so broad. The list of subjects suggests the boldness with which the project has been conceived. Perhaps at some future time the historian investigating the second quarter of the twentieth century will single out this work as a convenient marker for the close of an epoch in the intellectual history of the American people. If such a fortune should befall the series, it would not be the result of the presentation of new material or interpretations in the subject matter of the various social disciplines. The editors of the *Encyclopaedia* have conceived their function as one of taking stock of the advances that have been made in the different fields of the investigation of human society and of exploring the zones of contact which bind them together. For three quarters of a century before the appearance of the *Encyclopaedia* the social disciplines in the United States underwent an accelerating development, marked both by progress and chaos. The first quarter of the twentieth century was, in particular, a period of ferment in social thought, in which an army of investigators, equipped with a variety of techniques and prejudices, attacked the problem of analyzing the infinite complexities of human society. The forces of learning, or what passed for learning, marched as individual sharpshooters or small and independent skirmishing parties on a bewildering variety of objectives. Uplifters yearned over the body politic. Complacent Nordics became excited about light hair and blue eyes. Socialist theorizers gave battle to the defenders of the established order. The Freudians discovered sex. The *Encyclopaedia* aims frankly, one fears, too optimistically, to put an end to the existing confusion. Whether it will aid in ushering in a new epoch marked, to quote the phrase of the editors, by a "sounder and more informed public opinion on the major questions which lie at the foundations of human progress", only the forthcoming years of the twentieth century can disclose. Certain it is, however, that no scholar in the social sciences can ignore this series or can fail to derive from it an augmented appreciation of the unity of the whole field of the social disciplines and of their interrelations.

The *Encyclopaedia,* however, being the work of men, is not wholly free from the prejudices and foibles of its age. It reflects, perhaps, too much the point of view of the field anthropologist. This investigator, filling his notebooks in the huts of the few remaining primitive men, has been wont of late to sneer at the "book" anthropologist, striving to create by inductive reasoning, from the mass of data already available, the foundations of a science of society. Quite naturally the "new history" receives a place of prominence while the battles which have been waged about this term are passed over in silence. One of the intellectual characteristics of the present age seems to be the desire to dignify every possible mental activity with the appellation "science". The word has "sales value". One of the less convincing chapters of the *Encyclopaedia* is the opening and basic essay, What Are the Social Sciences? If the classification set forth in these paragraphs by the General Editor is generally accepted, the word "science" will have lost its former precise meaning and have become a vague and blurred concept.

Volume I. of the *Encyclopaedia* contains a mass of material of importance for the historian. Beginning with Greek culture and thought, Introduction I. traces to the present in twelve long essays the *Kulturgeschichte* of western civilization. These surveys are fine examples of the craftsmanship of the modern social and intellectual historian. Introduction II. traces the evolution of the social disciplines, including always history, in all the European nations outside the Balkans and in Latin America, Japan, and the United States. An omission difficult to understand is that of the dominions which comprise the British Commonwealth of Nations. No less regrettable is the silence regarding China in which the impact of western civilization upon an ancient culture is bringing about many interesting adjustments and experiments in the social field. Introduction II., with the exceptions noted above, enables the historical student to survey almost at a glance the world progress and present status of the social disciplines. It points out the various schools of thought in each country and describes briefly the types of investigation in progress.

The second half of volume I. is made up of the alphabetical articles. These comprise brief biographies of persons significant for one or more of the social disciplines and special articles like abdication, abnormal psychology, accounting, agency, advertising, and alcohol. Particularly notable is the series on agriculture. Economic, social, technical, and historical phases of the industry are treated. The agriculture of the Orient as well as that of the Occident is adequately handled within the space limits of the work.

In the final essay in Introduction I. the editors present what they conceive to be the relation of history to the other social disciplines:

> A summary view of the interpretative leads which history borrowed from the social sciences would show that social biologists, through the Darwinian hypothesis, introduced the concept of evolution, and the race theorists the rather risky interpretation of national development in terms of racial endowment; that the anthropologists thoroughly imbued the

historian with the concept of culture and directed him to the study of the totality of the life of the community; that the anthropologists and archeologists radically changed his perspective in time and space; that the geographers gave him an environmentalist interpretation running in terms of the inexorable elements which constitute the physical landscape and the complex accessions which constitute the cultural landscape; that the psychologists affected his conception of the inner springs of motive and emotion underlying the actions of the "men who made history"; that the collectivist psychologists drew his attention to the fundamental rôle of the masses and the common man in history; that the economists pointed out the dominance of the maintenance problem in human life; that the political scientists showed the realities behind governmental structures and the propulsive force of such political aspirations as those for nationalism and later for internationalism; that the sociologists worked out a set of conceptions of the realities of group life which enabled the historian to separate the formerly undifferentiated "nation" or "public" into its various racial, economic and interest groups and to trace the entrance and rôle of each in the life of the community. [If the editors had paid more heed to some of the "book" anthropologists, they would not have omitted from the above list the important contributions which the social disciplines have made to the historian's thinking concerning the importance and the rôle of organized religion in human society.] Although there are other social studies which perform a synthesizing function they do so rather for the social scientist than the layman. History has always been a common carrier, the accredited vehicle for transmitting to the lay reader as much of the philosophy of society as historical scholarship is able to absorb.

Yale University. RALPH HENRY GABRIEL.

A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the End of the XVIIIth Dynasty. By JAMES BAIKIE, D.D., F.R.A.S. Two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xii, 426, 403. $10.50.)

DR. BAIKIE, the writer of this history, is not a professional Egyptologist, or even an Orientalist. He has, however, read widely in the works of Oriental explorers, and in previous books, such as *The Life of the Ancient East* (1923), has demonstrated his ability to assimilate the work of competent authorities and to present it in a form attractive to the general reader. In his *History of Egypt* he has undertaken to do the same for the history of the land of the Nile. In the two volumes before us the story is, however, carried only to the end of the XVIIIth dynasty. Dr. Baikie hopes in a third volume to continue the narrative down to the Persian conquest. The two volumes already written exhibit the author's diligence in keeping abreast of the progress of discovery. He has made good use of the new light shed on the earliest period of Egyptian prehistory by the work at Badari and has also assimilated the results of other recent discoveries. His volumes are well illustrated with excellent photographs, some of which were taken from the air, and the history is narrated in a clear and intelligible fashion. There are points, however, where one misses the clear judgment of a master. Such is Dr. Baikie's treatment of the chronology earlier than 1580 B.C.

The Turin papyrus states that the XIIth dynasty ruled 213 years. The Kahun papyrus tells us that in the seventh year of Sesostris III. of the XIIth dynasty, the festival of the rising of the star Sothis would be celebrated on the fifteenth day of the eighth month. A simple addition of the well-known reigns of the kings of the dynasty shows that the seventh year of Sesostris III. was the 120th year of the dynasty. Therefore in the 120th year of the XIIth dynasty New Year's Day occurred 225 days too soon. As the Egyptian calendar lost one quarter of a day each year, it is clear that in the seventh year of Sesostris III. 900 of the 1460 years of a Sothic cycle had passed. As we know from Censorinus, a Roman writer, that a Sothic cycle began in 140 A.D., it follows that the previous cycle began in 1320 B.C.; the one before that, in 2780 B.C.; and the one before that, in 4240 B.C. In the judgment of German and American Egyptologists, the XIIth dynasty's 213 years fell within the cycle which began in 2780 B.C. Nine hundred years from the beginning of the cycle would be 1880 B.C. As 1880 was the 120th year of the XIIth dynasty, that dynasty came into power in the year 2000 B.C., and its 213 years were from 2000–1788 B.C. All this is thus astronomically fixed and is accepted by German and American Egyptologists. British Egyptologists exhibit, however, much variety of opinion. Petrie carries the XIIth dynasty back a whole Sothic cycle, placing it in the fourth millennium. Weigall somehow fumbles the calculation so as to date the beginning of the XIIth dynasty in 2111 B.C. H. R. Hall, in the *Cambridge Ancient History,* goes still another way. He can not, with Petrie, conscientiously stretch the history a whole Sothic cycle, but he thinks the 208 years from 1788–1580 B.C. too short a time for the Hyksos period, so he disregards the Kahun papyrus on the ground that it must be mistaken, and arbitrarily fixes the beginning of the XIIth dynasty by a guess of his own at 2212 B.C.

Confronted with these differences Dr. Baikie tries to be fair. He will give both the longer and the shorter chronology of those who are Egyptologists and let the reader decide. He accordingly gives Petrie's chronology and, for the shorter, that of Hall in the *Cambridge Ancient History*! This last, although it rests on the arbitrary guess of one scholar, he takes as the generally accepted shorter chronology, and gives his readers no hint that there is a chronology of the XIIth dynasty scientifically fixed by astronomy!

The University of Pennsylvania. GEORGE A. BARTON

Le Monde Méditerranéen jusqu'au IV^e Siècle avant J.-C. Par EUGÈNE CAVAIGNAC, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. [Histoire du Monde, volume II.] (Paris: E. de Boccard. 1929. Pp. vii, 706. 60 fr.)

PROFESSOR CAVAIGNAC is general editor of a new *Histoire du Monde* in thirteen volumes. In this series he has himself undertaken to write the history of the ancient Mediterranean world, and the second volume deals with this early period down to the fourth century of the pre-Christian era. It is a difficult task to cover the history of three and a half millenniums in a single volume of 700 pages, and in a work of this kind it is inevitable that the treatment should be eclectic. In his *Ancient World,* Breasted dealt largely with social conditions. More recently Rostovtzeff, in handling the same subject, stressed the economic development. Cavaignac is more interested in chronological problems; and the succession of dynasties and tyrants, the winners of Olympic games, consular fasti and similar subjects are treated somewhat too fully to be of interest to the general reader. There is little attempt to depict the achievement of these ancient civilizations in the various fields of culture, and with the exception of a brief chapter on the Hittite art and institutions and another on the literature of the Jews the history of the eastern Mediterranean is mostly a dreary succession of dynasties and wars.

In the West the Stone and Bronze Ages are left out of the story. The coming of the Indo-European stock is placed at the beginning of the first millennium, although it is probable that the Terremare and Middle Helladic peoples are the first to represent this Nordic element in Italy and Greece. The migrations of *c.* 1000 B.C. were a later invasion of the same stock with a ruder and more barbarous culture. Cavaignac does not believe in the unitarian school of Homeric criticism. He dates the composition of the Iliad somewhere in the ninth century, and of the Odyssey at the beginning of the westward colonial movement in the late eighth or early seventh century. This movement was caused by the crowding out of the lower classes by the feudal proprietors of the age. These in turn were overthrown by the rise of petty princes or tyrants. In the age of tyrants the idea of the city-state emerges, and with the development of civil power the need of law and codes of law arises. The author practically brings the history of Greece to a close with the Persian Wars. Here the original theory is advanced that Thermopylæ, Artemisium, and Salamis were fought in the late autumn of 480 B.C. Unreliable as the historian Herodotus is, this new theory does greater violence to the text than the traditional view, nor is it likely that the Persian commanders would have risked a naval campaign so late in the year. For the remaining chapters of Greek history the author refers the reader to his *Histoire de l'Antiquité.* It is difficult to understand why he has given a chapter to listing the winners of the Olympic games from 476 to 432 instead of an account of the age of Pericles. An essay reprinted from the *Revue de Philologie* on Athenian trade and commerce is much more interesting, but the estimates of the trade in oil, pottery, and other commodities are highly conjectural.

Cavaignac begins the history of Italy with the Etruscans, whose debt to Greek influence is somewhat overemphasized. Their relations with Rome are not clearly indicated, but evidently Cavaignac does not share the views of Homo in this regard. The early republic is a favorite field upon which all historians exercise their critical ingenuity in reconstructing its history. We shall probably never know how much of the traditional account is retrojection, sheer invention, or actual truth. Professor Cavaignac has added to existing theories a new construction of the consular fasti from 474 to 324, and his history of the period is based on this table, but neither is very convincing.

In an historical survey of the Mediterranean civilization, good maps are a necessity for a proper understanding of the story. In this volume the Hittite empire is the only one for which a map is given, and in this, many of the names found in the Hittite records can only be provisionally indicated, as their identification is far from certain in most cases. If another edition is called for, the value of the book will be greatly increased if adequate maps of the ancient empires are provided.

Princeton University. ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Saint Benedict and the Sixth Century. By Dom JOHN CHAPMAN. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1929. Pp. 239. $4.00.)

THE thesis of this book, so far as it has a thesis, appears to be that the life and work of Benedict of Nursia, who died, according to generally accepted tradition, in 543, but, according to our author, somewhere between 548 and 558, were widely known and appreciated during the sixth century, and this in spite of the fact that our earliest information about him comes from Pope Gregory I. (died 604). In support of this thesis he gives in successive chapters the result of his inquiries into the relation to the Benedictine Rule of the Emperor Justinian, of Caesarius of Arles, of Cassiodorus, and of the Dionysian collection of canons. A chapter is devoted to the question of the date of Benedict. Others treat of the economic and social conditions of the monks as pictured in the Rule.

It was, perhaps, to be expected of a Benedictine author, abbot of an important House and a convert, not only to Roman Catholicism but to the "religious" life, that he should deal with his subject from a devotedly partisan point of view. The keynote of his method is sounded in the first few paragraphs. Speaking of Gregory's sources for the events of the saint's life—all of them oral—he says: "Now the Italians of his day were not so silly as to disbelieve in miracles; but they were sufficiently uneducated and behindhand (*sic*) to be ready to accept only the accustomed and the traditional." And further: "Had St. Gregory been credulous (like the people who believe that miracles do not happen on the authority of those who know nothing about the evidence for them) he might doubtless have written ten books instead of four; for the wonders related to him as a collector, at third hand and as reports and traditions, must have been very much more numerous than the sober witness which he was willing to accept."

"The modern attitude toward miracles is an unfortunate obstacle to historical study." The fame of St. Bernard, for example, rests, not upon his influence upon public affairs, nor upon the reputation of his monastery, but upon the fact that he was a "thaumaturgus to a very remarkable though not unprecedented degree". So also Benedict was primarily a thaumaturgus, and his reputation among his contemporaries was founded solidly upon his character as a wonder-worker. His authorship of a Rule which our author assumes, probably with good reason, to have been intended for the reformation of already existing monasteries, was a quite secondary matter.

After such a declaration of principles one can not be surprised to find a method of handling "evidence" which is too extravagantly subjective to repay serious criticism of details. The climax is reached in the concluding paragraphs. St. Benedict "would hardly" have made so comprehensive a Rule merely for his own abbey; he must have been "commissioned" by somebody; it is "scarcely possible" this should have been the Emperor Justinian; "it must, therefore, have been the Pope". But the only available pope was St. Hormisdas, to whom Dionysius Exiguus dedicates his Latin version of the Greek councils. Now, "would not" Dionysius suggest to the pope the advisability of adding a new monastic rule to this new canon law? Our author believes, therefore, that the Holy Rule was written at the bidding of the pope and by the persuasion of the "venerable Dionysius, to whom (if this conjecture is right) we owe, not only the Christian era, but the *Regula monasteriorum*". With becoming modesty he admits that this hypothesis can not be proved and "will cease even to be reasonable if a more probable theory can be invented".

It will, we hope, not seem disrespectful to apply to the chapter on *Conversatio Morum* the same word which the author uses for William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* which he calls "his amusing book". The purpose of the chapter is to show that the word *conversatio* used alone has the same meaning as *sancta* or *monachica* or *religiosa conversatio.* This is illustrated by a great number of passages taken from writers as far apart as Cassianus and Gregory I., some in a positive, others in a negative sense. So far as we can see the outcome is that where the meaning of the word was perfectly clear from the context it was used without special qualification. Its general meaning "way of life" became specifically "the monastic way of life".

As a whole the book should interest the psychologist quite as much as it can the historian.

Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall: A.D. 1364–1381. Edited by A. H. Thomas, M.A. [Printed by order of the Corporation under the Direction of the Library Committee.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan. 1929. Pp. lxiv, 359. 15 s.)

In 1924 the deputy keeper of the records of the city of London published a calendar of Early Mayors' Court Rolls, 1298–1307. This was followed two years later by a calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1323–1364, and we are now indebted to him for a third volume, a calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1364–1381. The three volumes are alike not only in outward form but in excellence of editorship. Each contains a valuable introduction as well as full indexes, which enable the reader easily to extract whatever may serve his purpose from the very miscellaneous entries on the Rolls.

Mr. Thomas in his introduction, on the subject of Incorporation and Citizenship, maintains that both Stubbs and Round underestimated the amount of municipal unity in London prior to the fourteenth century. Administrative unity was lacking, but there was an offsetting "material unity". A strong corporate feeling was bound to develop in a walled and densely populated city like London, especially when a common danger such as the Danish invasions threatened. The similar interests of trade and manufacture also strengthened the sense of unity, which was real and vital even before the granting of the Commune in 1191 established beyond question the city's corporate existence. The Commune, Mr. Thomas contends, was a "recognition of existing facts", not, as Round seems to have looked upon it, a "legal event".

In the section of his introduction dealing with citizenship Mr. Thomas takes up such matters as the qualifications for citizenship, the citizen's oath, and, in a few particularly interesting paragraphs, the villein metamorphosed into a free man by residence in the city for a year and a day. Another section is concerned with the three methods of acquiring citizenship—by patrimony (birth), by apprenticeship, by redemption (payment)—and regarding apprenticeship, which was destined to become the predominating method, Mr. Thomas presents many illuminating details.

As for the calendar itself, no one gifted with imagination will find it dull reading. True, it throws no new light on important events. There are few echoes here of the most significant events of the period, the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 and the Hundred Years' War. There are references now and then to the Black Prince and John of Gaunt. There is casual mention of two Chaucers, John, a vintner, and the much more important Geoffrey, but the entry in which the poet's name appears is already in print in the Life Records of Chaucer. A mysterious "John Baldak, son of the king of India", has trouble with his servants, who are sent to prison; and Alice de Perers, of unhappy fame, sues a stockfishmonger to recover a loan, and obtains protection against one Richard

Lyouns, who is mainprised not to interfere with her going where she wishes on the king's business and her own.

These, however, are chance matters. The real value of the calendar consists of the picture it offers of life in fourteenth century London; of amusing revelations of human nature there is an abundance. The heroic struggle of the authorities to keep the streets and the river free from filth must always command admiration though it appears not to have been appreciated by some of the city's inhabitants. Equally determined were the efforts of the city fathers to enforce the rules and regulations of trade. The buyer was entitled to fair prices and honest goods. Forestalling was strictly prohibited, sales must be made in open market, weights and measures must be true. Unwholesome wines were poured out in the streets, a defective piece of cloth or fur sufficed to send the responsible party to prison, and several arrests and a jury trial resulted from the discovery that some one had been selling baskets of figs in which old and rotten fruit was placed beneath new fruit "to the deception of the people and the scandal of the city". The alien, wherever he hailed from, was assumed to be a man of guile, and in some cases no doubt, the suspicion was justified. One Nicholas Sarduche, Lombard, aroused the ire of the silkwomen, who complained that he had bought up all the silk offered for sale in London, and thereby caused the price to rise four shillings a pound. In the end the defendant was summoned to appear in Chancery, and there, apparently, he made his peace with the king, if not with the silkwomen, for he returned to the mayor and aldermen with a writ of protection. The foreign merchant was useful to the Crown. He was not to be condemned without good reason.

It is a temptation to linger over details, which, though petty in themselves, make medieval London seem so real. Let us hope that there will be more calendars of Plea and Memoranda Rolls containing an equal number of the human touches which make this volume so entertaining.

Boston. CORA L. SCOFIELD.

Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History. By Students of Charles Homer Haskins, presented on his Completion of Forty Years of Teaching. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1929. Pp. x, 417. $5.00.)

THE volume of *Anniversary Essays* is a graceful tribute to a great medieval scholar; both in content and in appearance it is worthy of him in whose honor it was issued.

There are eighteen essays in all by past and present students of Professor Haskins. Most of them deal with one of three subjects, Norman or English medieval institutions, or the intellectual history of western Europe. Within these fields, fields in which Professor Haskins has made notable contributions, we are offered a wide variety of papers. We are taken from the paper by J. S. Beddie on Libraries in the Twelfth Century to G. Post's Alexander III., the *Licentia Docendi,* and the Rise of

Universities, from J. R. Williams's William of the White Hands and Men of Letters to C. W. David's refutation of the Claim of Henry I. to be Called Learned, from W. E. Lunt's description of Clerical Tenths levied in England by Papal Authority during the Reign of Edward II. to H. MacKenzie's assembly of the facts concerning the Anti-Foreign Movement in England, 1231–1232, and from S. R. Packard's contention that financial reasons lay at the basis of the granting of charters to the Norman Communes under Richard and John, 1189–1204, to R. A. Newhall's Henry V.'s Policy of Conciliation in Normandy, 1417–1422. All of these essays are written on medieval subjects though they vary in time from the earliest, C. H. Taylor's enlightening discussion of the *Census de Rebus* in the Capitularies, to the latest, H. L. Gray's interesting search for biographical data concerning four Greek Visitors to England in 1455–1456.

Such an array of subjects—and there are others than those noted—is a little bewildering to a reviewer, for there are no connecting links save sound scholarship and the desire to honor a beloved teacher. Faced with this situation I have selected for special notice three essays that would seem to be of general interest.

Professor L. M. Larson's contribution, Witnesses and Oath Helpers in Old Norwegian Law, brings to light a fact of which I was unaware, the wealth of material on judicial methods and procedure in the ancient codes of Norway. He uses as the basis of his article the Gulathing law of the twelfth and the Frostathing law of the thirteenth, century. From these he has gathered a large amount of information about the number of witnesses required in business transactions, when civil litigation was begun, and in connection with crimes of violence. The details concerning oath helpers, compurgators, are voluminous and at times curious. Information in such detail is sadly lacking in Anglo-Saxon codes.

In an interesting paper Professor M. Graves has placed the Statute of Præmunire of 1353 in its proper setting. He demonstrates that appeals out of England of cases rightfully belonging to the royal courts had been checked by those courts for half a century before its enactment. What the statute did was to introduce a new method of bringing to justice those who were charged with making appeals, and who failed to answer the summons to appear before a royal court.

Professor C. Stephenson, in the fullness of his knowledge of the origin of towns and of the *taille*, brings us back once more to the controverted subject Taxation and Representation in the Middle Ages. His conclusion, which appears to me to be sound, is as follows: " Though the parliamentary system was ordained by the sovereign for his own convenience, that convenience was largely dictated by his need of taxes " (p. 312).

The editors of the essays are to be congratulated upon the successful outcome of their labors.

The University of Colorado. JAMES F. WILLARD.

Histoire Linguistique d'Alsace et de Lorraine. Par PAUL LÉVY, Professeur au Lycée Kléber, Strasbourg. Deux tomes. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, Fascicules 47, 48.] (Paris: Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres. 1929. Pp. 403, 563. 90 fr.)

OVER a thousand pages of closely printed text deal exhaustively with the linguistic history of Alsace and Lorraine. A complicated story is told in bewildering detail, and it is one which ranges from mutations of consonants and similar phonetic phenomena to administrative decrees of imperial Germany and republican France. The first and shorter volume treats the ages down to the French Revolution, the second and longer one covers only the briefer period from the Revolution to 1918. A bibliography of thirty-one pages precedes the study, and, in addition to the usual analytic table of contents, three separate indexes of places, persons, and topics differentiate the work from kindred French scholarly productions, usually so defective in this regard.

The author begins with the earliest eras of our civilization, when there were three linguistic divisions, Celtic, Latin, and Germanic. The first slowly disappeared, Latin was the language of culture, and Germanic idioms gradually replaced, especially among the people, the Celtic ones. It might be said that at one time Roman Alsace was trilingual, in the sense that the three speeches were simultaneously used, though by different groups, on its soil. During the period from 400 to 800 Germanic forms of speech became predominant in Alsace and Lorraine, thus furnishing the basis to the German claims upon this land as Teutonic. Then between 800 and 1150, under Charlemagne and his successors, the areas of *lingua theodisca* and *lingua francisca* became crystallized with fairly distinct lines of demarcation, though these date ultimately back to the fifth and sixth centuries. Many incidental causes, including swampy regions and forests, contributed to the irregularity of this line. Between 1150 and 1450 the Alsatian Germanic idiom acquired a form which has not greatly varied since then and there might have been evolved a separate Germanic language between France and Germany, analogous in position to Flemish. However, the Reformation and printing, Luther and Gutenberg, drew Alsace into German linguistic unity.

Scarcely had the above results been reached when the Thirty Years' War and the campaigns of Louis XIV. played havoc in a short time with the now established order. The first French epoch brought complexity but, says the author (p. 267), the lines of demarcation between the two languages in Alsace were even then much as today. By the end of the old régime French predominated in Lorraine, but in Alsace an easy-going attitude on the part of the government had allowed a certain reaction toward German, which was esteemed more highly in literary circles and the upper social classes.

With the Revolution new conditions are presented. The revolutionary forces tend to unification and the levelling of differences, at the same time that French is the language of liberty, German the language of reaction. Moreover, and in part as a result, the principles of language and of nationality became identified. By the irony of fate this identification was soon invoked by the Germans against the French. Because the language of so many Alsatians is Germanic, the Germans demanded the land. Consequently, the effort of the French in the nineteenth century was to counter the German thesis by spreading the use of French. Beginning with the educational reforms of 1833 this is to an important degree the linguistic history of Alsace in the nineteenth century. The French government proceeded systematically to spread the use of the language. The intellectuals and the bourgeoisie responded at once and became practically bilingual, though many writers still retained a sentimental fondness for German. The working classes and the peasants were slower to react, but industrialization, military service, and social and political tendencies of all kinds increased the use of French. Then the War of 1870 completely reversed the situation: German became the official language and French that of the opposition. But the German methods were much more drastic than those of the French and the progress was more swift in spite of stiffened resistance by a few. The basic influence of local dialect and economic and intellectual conditions all worked for Germany, and but for the outbreak of the war French would in time have disappeared. The war conditions of 1914–1918 increased severity on the part of the Germans to ruthlessness, but it was discovered that the more French was persecuted the more French sympathies were aroused. At this point the study is concluded, but if the present writer may add an observation of his own it is that, since the war, *outwardly* Alsace-Lorraine has been absolutely retranslated into French. The local language is heard everywhere, but as one travels through the land not a single German sign can be seen. The painted advertisements on the walls are already growing weather-beaten as if they had always been there.

M. Lévy's general conclusions are that in the course of the centuries the linguistic frontier has varied but little, that political reasons have been less powerful than others, that compulsion has inevitably engendered resistance, that under the present régime German is already on the decline but that, owing to the influence of the Germanic dialect, many years must elapse before it disappears.

This study may be considered a definitive exposition of the linguistic history of the borderland between France and Germany. Unfortunately it will probably fail to end controversies based, not on facts but, on the one hand, upon political conditions, and, on the other, upon the mysticism of a creed of nationalism and race unity built on language.

Harvard University. C. H. C. Wright.

A History of France from the Death of Louis XI. By John S. C. Bridge. Volume III., 1498–1507; volume IV., 1508–1514. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1929. Pp. xiii, 313; xv, 310. $5.00 each.)

Readers of the earlier parts of this work (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 816 and XXX. 130) have been awaiting with some interest its continuation. They will not be disappointed with the present volumes. Perhaps disciples of the "new history" may be disposed to turn away from the "drum and trumpet history" here presented, but it can not be denied that the story of royal policy particularly in the early sixteenth century will always have a dramatic attraction, which is doubled when, as in the present instance, the tale is well told. It may be noted that the author promises the story of domestic progress and reform in another volume.

Mr. Bridge continues to provide his readers with the product of the best scholarly investigations skillfully synthesized into a moving narrative, and he makes it perfectly clear that at one point he is following Pélissier, at another Maulde-la-Clavière, that for naval affairs he leans upon La Roncière, for Gallicanism upon Imbart de la Tour, and for the affairs of Navarre upon Boissonnade. These authors provide not only information, but are often drawn upon for quotations giving their opinions so that we are getting a summary of the best historical conclusions, not omitting the older historians like Michelet and Prescott. This does not mean that the author neglects the sources, because indeed most of his discussion is based on the extensive body of published diplomatic documents. We are really observing the course of international affairs through the eyes of the Italian diplomats, and their ability to express their ideas in very pithy figures of speech lends much to the vivacity of the tale.

The story of an age in which politics is largely the aims and actions of royal persons and their advisers requires that such personages shall be presented in a way to make them vivid. Here unfortunately the author is at the mercy of his sources, with the result that the effectiveness of his presentation is variable. We miss Commines. Mr. Bridge has no difficulty in depicting the personality of Louis, with his mind obsessed with Milan, or of Queen Anne, similarly dominated by Brittany, or of George d'Amboise, ambitious to become pope. Julius II. receives a rather sympathetic treatment for which Pastor may be held somewhat responsible. Throughout the whole book the figure of Ferdinand appears so continuously that he is perhaps the most vivid character in the story. The one disappointment is Gonsalvo, who despite his major rôle, and a contemporary comparison to Scipio Africanus, remains a shadowy figure.

Readers interested in the history of warfare will find the chapters on the various campaigns in Italy and elsewhere both clear and informing. Indeed the account of the Ravenna campaign is the high point in the narrative. The part played by the Swiss is well set forth and the difficulties of carrying on a war with foreign mercenaries, who are overweeningly self-confident, clamorous for their pay, keen for pillage, and occasionally hired out simultaneously to both sides, is very enlightening. There are helpful maps of northern Italy and of Naples, and plans of Agnadello and Ravenna. Light touches occasionally appear when the author expresses his own views of military engineers, or when he describes the difficulties of an English army attempting a campaign without beer. The detailed account of naval affairs both in the Mediterranean and the Channel is a welcome addition to the military story. But the reason for Spanish military excellence still remains obscure, and it may be wondered if the general reader will know what Stradiots and "landsknechte" were.

The style varies at times from a lofty reference to the Swiss as Louis's "rapacious partners, who had dragged his economy a mutilated victim at the wheels of their mercenary chariot", to the almost slangy comment that "whilst the leaders of the Cambray band were pocketing the valuables, the lesser fry did not neglect the chance to grab the small change", or the somewhat too conscious cleverness of the assertion that Julius had persuaded himself "that the power of the foreigner in Italy had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished". And there is occasionally a cynical pungency in commentary such as the remark "that the piety of the Catholic King was strangely rich in worldly benefits. Zeal for the faith had compelled the conquest of Andalusia; horror of the Infidel had required the seizure of Naples upon the pretext of protecting it; and now the duty of defending the saintly Julius against wicked schismatics had added Navarre to the dominions of the Spanish Crown".

Williams College. RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

La Vie Rurale dans le Sud de la Région Parisienne de 1450 à 1560. Par YVONNE BEZARD, Archiviste aux Archives Nationales, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Firmin-Didot. 1929. Pp. 382. 50 fr.)

MLLE. BEZARD is peculiarly fitted to deal with a subject of this sort. Her graduation thesis from the École des Chartes won first place among the theses of the year 1926, and brought her the Prix Auguste Molinier (*Bib. Ec. Chartes,* LXXXVII. 430–431). This now appears in book form as one of the theses presented in 1929 for her doctor's degree.

The period between the close of the Hundred Years' War and the beginning of the Wars of Religion is full of interest to the historian, the economist, and the sociologist. Comparative peace allowed reconstruction and repopulation in devastated parts of France. The historical sources are, for the first time, both complete and plentiful, especially in the north, but few scholars have used them. Mlle. Bezard is an *archiviste-paléographe* of the first order, and her position at the Archives Nationales gives her easy access to, and comparative familiarity with, material which the less favored could use only with great handicaps.

For an intensive study of rural life, it was necessary to choose a region of definite boundaries with some degree of unity, stability, and continuity. Political subdivisions were too changeable. Instead, the author selected an ecclesiastical unit whose boundaries and organization were practically the same from 925 until the French Revolution—the archidiaconate of Josas, one of three such districts in the episcopal diocese of Paris. The so-called *pays de Josas* was the region immediately to the south of Paris, including such towns as Versailles, Chateaufort, and Montlhéry. The influence of Paris extended to all the towns in the district, none being more than thirty kilometers distant. Economically, as well as geographically, Josas presented a convenient unit for study.

The parishes studied were visited in person by the author, who used all known secondary material and exhausted both printed and manuscript documentary sources. Most illuminating were the records of the Abbaye of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, which are complete for the period. The archives of Saint-Denis and the Célestins came next in importance, followed by a long list of ecclesiastical and legal documents, and the account books of the many religious houses owning land in the district. Eighteen of the more interesting of these documents are reproduced as *Pièces Justificatives.* Three excellent miniatures taken from illuminated documents are used as illustrations. Both documents and illustrations seem to have been chosen with a view to supplying the reader with interesting specimens of the various types of source material rather than significant new contributions. A good map of the archidiaconate, a complete bibliography, and a well organized index greatly facilitate the use of the book for reference. There is an excellent preliminary chapter, prepared with care and presented with clarity, which explains and translates into modern French terms the money and measures of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, together with tables of the purchasing value of the pound in terms of grain, animals, food, corn, clothing, wages, and rents. The fifteen main chapters include such subjects as the division, ownership, and working of the land; feudal payments and rights; forests, fields, vineyards, and gardens; beasts of burden, cattle, and food; industries and commerce, including the provisioning of Paris, the fairs and markets; private life, with interesting and well documented discussions of houses and furniture, costumes, food, cost of living, sources of incomes, marriage, care of children and the aged; amusements, delinquencies, and justice; and finally a chapter on religion, the administration of the parish, of public charities, and the new problem of Protestants in a distinctly Catholic community. The style is uniformly clear and brilliant, and interest is increased by the use of many well-chosen quotations from the sources.

The most valuable contribution of the book lies in its picture of rural life. The author makes and claims no startling discoveries. She draws a few incidental comparisons with earlier Middle Ages and with modern times; for example, she finds the fifteenth century farmer more likely to indulge in violence than his modern successor. She concludes that in spite of feudal survivals and consequent lack of complete emancipation, this period of transition brought prosperity to the farmer and even made of some of them veritable business men who owned several large farms, many cattle, and facilities for grinding grain and weaving cloth on a large scale—and who still, in that period of changing social lines, called themselves *laboureurs*.

The University of West Virginia. DOROTHY LOUISE MACKAY.

A History of Modern Culture. By PRESERVED SMITH, HON.LITT.D., Amherst, Professor of History in Cornell University. Volume I., *The Great Renewal, 1543–1687.* (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1930. Pp. xi, 672. $5.00.)

IT is becoming tardily apparent that a study of our human heritage is the prime factor in general intelligence. We now see that history is, as Mr. Marvin has said, the "living past", not as still commonly supposed, an attempt to recall the dead and gone. The tremendous increase of knowledge has brought with it a yearning to trace its development, in this and that realm of thought and research. A few of the older writers —Draper, Lecky, Andrew D. White for instance—tried to broaden their survey so as to include a considerable variety of human preoccupations but were hampered by the prejudices and ignorance of their time, especially old theological irritations and a want of that psychological insight which has only recently become available.

The volume in hand contains the first fruits of a bold and exacting historical enterprise which when completed in four volumes will form far the best account of the origins and progress of our present culture ever published. The author is peculiarly well fitted and circumstanced for his heroic task. For years the library at Cornell has been steadily enriched owing to the enthusiasm of its first president and the broad and eager scholarship of Professor George Burr. Its wealth has been patiently exploited by the writer.

One of the chief difficulties of the historian who has escaped conventional classifications and orderings is to get a starting point in the intricate flow of human affairs. Professor Smith not unexpectedly deserts the older periodization based upon a misconceived "Renaissance" and "The Reformation" and delimits a hitherto nameless period. He borrows the term "The Great Renewal" from Francis Bacon, which brings out in clear relief the hitherto rather underrated achievements from the publication of the chief work of Copernicus (1543) to the appearance of Newton's *Principia* (1687). To Professor Smith science has been the chief force in molding the life we now lead; accordingly the progress of knowledge becomes the guide in his presentation.

To the astonished eyes of the men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries science revealed that they had been living in a dream sent by the shades of their ancestors through the ivory gates of the past. In the transvaluation of all values produced by studying the facts of nature instead of relying on the wisdom of the past and on the common opinion of mankind, revelation faded into mythology and tradition into poetry; the very testimony of the eyes was shown to be delusive, and the world, which had stood so fast through the ages, was loosed from its moorings and spinning at a terrific speed through space. . . . The impact of science was so fresh in man's experience as to cause him first astonishment, then pain, and then anger; he found it at first ridiculous, then horrible, and then blasphemous, before he finally learned to prize it as the supreme good.

With due acknowledgments to the Greeks and to the important inventions of the later Middle Ages, we may well agree with the author that " suddenly, within two years, appeared three of the most momentous works of science that the world has ever seen "—that of Copernicus, that of Vesalius on the human body (both in 1643), and Cardan's *The Great Art*, two years later. To the author not religion nor letters nor philosophy nor economic, social, and political conditions can be properly selected as the underlying stimulus to change in modern times—this is to be found in the increase of man's knowledge of himself and his world.

The present work is however not a history of science, as commonly conceived, but includes an account of the multiform effects of new knowledge, including the countervailing " *vis inertiae* resistant to all sudden change "—the fierce resistance of vested interests, still obvious enough to-day. But Professor Smith is happily freed from the rancor of anticlericals and smug " rationalists " who have delighted in denouncing priestcraft and the stupid subservience of the multitude. He seeks to understand and explain rather than to exhibit his own glorious emancipation from sanctified prejudice. He is dignified but not dull. He has assimilated the best in our modern psychology, and this leads to a toleration without superciliousness.

The book is arranged as follows: Part I., the Sciences—Astronomy, Physics, Mathematics, Geography, Biology, Anatomy, followed by a chapter on the Scientific Revolution. Part II., the Humanities—Philosophy, Political Theory, Historiography, Biblical and Classical Scholarship. Part III., Social Control—Education, Religion, the Christian Churches, Free-Thought, Superstition (especially witchcraft), Persecution and Tolerance, Laws. Part IV., the Spirit of the Times—Morals and Manners, Literature, Art. The admirable bibliography fills forty-four pages. In all of this comprehensive range of highly specialized subjects the author seems to have personally sojourned—God knows how. His treatment never suggests a compilation from some convenient manual. He does not have to resort to the convenient confession, " I have relied in this chapter on the admirable work of so-and-so ". He takes a look at what so-and-so himself relied upon, and claims the inalienable right to try to see what it is all about. He takes to heart that " ancient Simian proverb " invented I suspect by the mathematician Sylvanus Thompson, that " What one fool can do, another can ".

Professor Smith's task will grow harder as he advances into the ever more refined researches of specialists, but he has laid a solid foundation for later developments and will, one may be confident, discriminate between the wearisome fumblings of investigators and the cardinal discoveries which have modified the conduct and thought of men. Hitherto the historians of science have had to rely upon a kind of "history" which did little to broaden and humanize their work. It will be otherwise when the present enterprise is brought to an end.

New York City. James Harvey Robinson.

Collected Papers of Herbert D. Foster, Professor of History at Dartmouth College, 1893–1927: Historical and Biographical Studies. (New York: Privately Printed. 1929. Pp. xv, 249.)

An excellent portrait prefaced to this volume of Herbert D. Foster's historical studies records the poise and dignity of his distinguished personality and at the same time suggests the buoyant friendliness and high good humor that will ever be a joyous memory of those who knew him. So too the studies exhibit the man, his intellectual ability, his conscientious and minute research, his serious ethical interests, and yet unmistakably also his fine relish of enjoyment in dealing with themes so expressive of the loyalties that characterized his life. Foster's devotion to Dartmouth College and its great sons appears in the articles dealing with Webster and Choate in College, 1796–1819, and Webster's Seventh of March Speech, both of them illustrations of complete research. The former, in addition to its biographical interest, serves as a model contribution to the history of American culture by consideration of the scope and effect of the older college training, when "with few books and few distractions, students read with care real masterpieces of thinking and expression, and themselves thought, talked and wrote about what they read". The latter article has been widely accepted as a convincing demonstration of the serious national peril and the high motives which compelled Webster "to speak true rather than pleasing things" in the much discussed address.

The major part of the volume springs from another loyalty. Ancestry and training bred in Foster an ardent appreciation of the Puritan American as a type of character, a builder of commonwealths, and a servant of public welfare. Historical study led him to a larger conception of Puritanism as an international and continuous movement of social activity and moral elevation finding its dynamic in what Calvin thought and did in Geneva. "Calvinism" was therefore not to be defined simply by what Calvin contributed to the history of Christian doctrine. It was more than a set of theological propositions logically articulated. Foster saw Calvinism in the perspectives of its social results, perspectives which in some degree subordinate the severities of its initial theological dogma. His cherished purpose was to give this full expression in an extensive work on the Puritan state. Its general character may be inferred from five of the papers here collected. They are rich mines of information, concerning the play of Calvinist literature on English and American minds.

Similar studies of the interlocking of religious and secular life have been made by the sociologist Max Weber and the theologian Ernst Troeltsch, but Foster's apprehension of the matter was independent of theirs. He was cautious for the most part. Such results as democracy and representative government are claimed only as "by-products" of Calvinism, but with an obvious desire to trace, if possible, modern liberal developments to Calvin himself, he discovered an earlier, more tolerant, more liberal Calvin and even felt able to trace to that earlier Calvin Roger Williams's principle of toleration. In this general view of the great Genevan he had help from Choisy and more from the softened interpretations of Calvin's language made by Amyrault of Saumur, an ingenious and subtle jurist in the field of theology. Not only is Calvin somewhat liberalized but the Dutch Remonstrants are seen as really orthodox Calvinists. The closing paper, International Calvinism through Locke, shows the significance of this desire to find essential agreement between Calvin and the Remonstrants. Modern principles of community life came by way of Arminius, Limborch, Grotius, Locke and to derive them from Calvin requires that these men must be good and proper Calvinists.

Certainly these men were of the Genevan mold, but their theological continuity with Calvin becomes precarious. Just here Troeltsch's divergent treatment is of interest. For him the specific *Werde-Einheit* of the movement dating from Calvin, the Puritan life, is in the more positive and optimistic estimate made, and increasingly developed, of the *Lex Naturae,* the basis of the world's political and economic system. Once viewed as providing a punishment for depraved humanity, it now seemed to provide opportunities for the life of the regenerated elect. In this, Calvin the *statesman* had a share, but such a justification of the "world" did not spring from Calvin's theological doctrine concerning man or God. *Stat pro ratione voluntas,* says Calvin of divine authority, while Grotius declared that the *Lex Naturae* is authoritative by its rationality even if there were no God. It is by the ensuing development of the fundamental notion of the *Lex Naturae,* aided by the autonomy established for ethics by the English moralists, that the rational principles of state life came to be regnant. When James Otis in 1761, as John Adams said, "breathed into this nation the breath of life" by appealing to the supreme law written in every human heart, in the constitution of his nature, or when Adams based human rights on "the frame of human nature, rooted in the constitution of the intellectual or moral world", good-by was spoken to Calvin as theologian, to human depravity, and arbitrary election.

But this transforming development came, as Foster so fully shows, in Puritan states that bore the impress of Genevan thought, and these deeply studied and richly informing essays on Puritan civilization are a boon to all students.

Lowell, Massachusetts. FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

Witch Hunting and Witch Trials: the Indictments for Witchcraft from the Records of 1373 Assizes held for the Home Circuit, A.D. 1559–1736. Collected and edited by C. L'ESTRANGE EWEN, with an Introduction. (London: Kegan Paul; New York: Dial Press. 1929. Pp. xiii, 345. $5.00.)

Lewis Hughes, the Militant Minister of the Bermudas, and his Printed Works. By GEORGE WATSON COLE. [Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1927.] (Worcester, published by the Society. 1928. Pp. 67.)

The Trial of the Lancaster Witches, A.D. 1612. Edited with an Introduction by G. B. HARRISON. (London: Peter Davies. 1929. Pp. xlvi, 188. 10 s. 6 d.)

The Discovery of Witches: a Study of Master Matthew Hopkins, commonly call'd Witch Finder Generall. By the Rev. MONTAGUE SUMMERS. Together with a reprint of The Discovery of Witches from the rare original of 1647. [Cayme Press Pamphlet, no. 7.] (London: Cayme Press. 1928. Pp. 62. 4 s. 6 d.)

IT is of good omen that the multiplying students of English witch-history are beginning to give us the documents. Mr. Ewen does not stop with printed ones. He delves, and with rich fruit, in the unpublished records of English courts. His list of the indictments for witchcraft in a single circuit—the "Home Circuit" of Essex, Hertford, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex—swells for us enormously the number of the accused. Dr. Notestein, who attempted a preliminary census, had neither the time nor the training to decipher these legal records, though he pointed out their unexplored mass; and the hundred cases listed in these five counties by his *History of Witchcraft in England* become at Mr. Ewen's hands more than five hundred—and this from but three-quarters of the original rolls. The rest are lost or illegible, and Mr. Ewen thinks that his list "possibly does not represent more than half of the actual trials which took place in the Home Circuit". An appendix adds more than forty names from sources other than the records.

Of course not all—nor even most—of those indicted for witchcraft received the penalty of death; but the proportion was long a growing one. If, in the Home Circuit, it was in Elizabeth's middle years that Mr. Ewen finds the indicted most numerous, the "most dangerous" of his decades was, he tells us, that from 1598 to 1607, when 41 per cent. of the indicted went to the gallows. But in the years 1601–1607 it was 48 per cent., and in certain years more than half perished. Worst of all, of course, though brief, was the slaughter in Essex under the witch-finder Hopkins during the chaos of the Civil Wars. Even under Elizabeth there were more victims in Essex than in the other four counties together, and it is rash to infer from the figures of the Home Circuit a decline everywhere under James. Then the most notable mass-trials known were farther north—

in Leicester and in Lancashire. Thomas Cooper, himself a witch-hunter in Cheshire and at Coventry, asks in 1617 "Doth not every Assise almost throughout the Land resound of the arraignement of notorious Witches?"—but notably where, as in Lancashire, "grosse ignorance and Popery most aboundeth"; and it was close by, in western Yorkshire, that we hear Edward Fairfax in 1621 speak of the much blood which "in these last 20 years hath been shed for this one offence".

That Mr. Ewen began with the Home Circuit is because its records begin earliest—in 1558 with Elizabeth. Next in age are the Northern Circuit's, dating only from 1607. He has glanced at these, but found little; and elsewhere his gleanings are scanty. His indictments (and the many gaol-delivery rolls he prints with them) he abridges, retaining, too, their abbreviations. A few, however, he prints in full as specimens, with translation into current English; and these, with his glossary and his facsimiles, make his book the best of guides for future searchers. He appends, moreover, sundry depositions (Suffolk, 1645; Leicester, 1717), two actions for slander (1653–1658), a Scottish indictment (1633), a reprint of the Chelmsford trials of 1556, and Dalton's rules for detecting witches. No other book has so enriched our knowledge of how English courts and juries dealt with the charge of witchcraft. Alas that its author was called to other tasks while this was yet "by no means complete". "A thorough examination of the Coram Rege and De Banco rolls", he says, "would reveal many cases of persons who had been publicly accused, if not officially charged with the crime"; and he thinks "a complete catalogue of witches" in England "yet far from being an accomplished fact".

Mr. Cole gives us a glimpse behind the courts. Lewis Hughes, who finds in him a first biographer, doubtless interests him most as that Welsh chaplain in the Bermudas whose *Letter from the Summer Ilands* (London, 1615) and his *Relation of the Goodnes of God towards the Sommer Ilands* (London, 1621) made him almost the first of American authors, or as the Puritan parson who pestered the Long Parliament (1640–1645) with his grievances against prayer book and catechism. Regarding these rare tracts and their author he has gathered what could be learned, adding such bibliographical details and facsimiles of title-pages as gladden the heart of a librarian. But he has place, too, for an episode of Hughes's early manhood which illumines English dealing with those thought witches. It was Hughes himself who long after (in the third edition, 1641, of his *Certaine Grievances*) told the story that gained currency of "one Mother Jackson, arraigned at Newgate for bewitching one Mary Glover, a Marchant's daughter in Thames Street", London. This passage Mr. Cole reprints and annotates, aided by Professor Kittredge—for it is on this that the latter has based his assertion that Bishop Bancroft and his clerics cared "not to save witches, but to crush exorcists". Mother Jackson, he says, the bishop "made no effort, so far as we can learn, to rescue", but "left her to the courts with a good conscience"; and Mr. Cole seems to agree. Alas, according to Hughes himself, it was

"Dr. Bancroft, then Lord Bishop of London"—not "a physician", as Mr. Kittredge narrates it—who "did informe Judge Anderson, then Lord chiefe justice, that Mother Jackson was wronged". The annals of the London College of Physicians mention, indeed, an inquiry into the case (and it is in this inquiry, not "at her trial", that Mr. Cole's "witnesses" figured); but they tell us, too, a trifle later (March 4, 1604), of the college's certifying "to the Bishop of London, who had requested them to examine a girl supposed to be a demoniac", that they find her a fraud. Of course their interest in Mary Glover's case may have been thus prompted, and what the Bishop told Judge Anderson may well have been their finding. But of that case another eyewitness—named, though not used, by both Mr. K. and Mr. C.—tells us much more. John Swan, like Hughes, was one of the exorcists, and his *Report of Mary Glover's Vexation* (London, 1603) informs us how, "by the Bishope of London's meanes", "there was a feare cast on such as resorted to her", how Mother Jackson's sentence is strangely "not yet fullye executed", and how "one lately at Paul's crosse spake much to the taxing of the Judge, Jurie, and witnesses, and clearinge or acquittinge the Witch". From Swan Mr. Cole could have learned much more of the part played by Hughes, who seems a prime mover, and that the book whose abuse of the exorcists he quotes was "by one S. H., a Chaplain to the Bishopp of London" (*i.e.*, was Dr. Harsnet's *Declaration of Impostures*), and is thought to have been laid before the king, though it questions "whether there be any witches, or whether there may be any possessions and dispossessions in these dayes". Nor is Swan's evidence all. Two of Mary's physicians, he says, are preparing an account which will include "the proceeding in Judgment against the Witch, the evidence brought in against her, . . . the verdict of the Jurie, the speech of the Judge, and sentence of the Recorder". This book, too, still exists, though in MS.,[1] and Mr. Cole knows of it—but has no inkling of its contents: how Mary became the sensation of the town, her room for weeks "usually well filled with men, women, and children, behoulders of a terrible spectacle", among them many of the quality; how at the trial of Mother Jackson (December 1) there faced her Puritan accusers, as unsummoned witnesses, two spokesmen of the College of Physicians, who "sought earnestly to make the case a meere naturall disease", and a "Doctor of Divinitie", who "laboured to purge Elizabeth Jackson of being any cause of Mary Glover's harme"; how Chief Justice Anderson told the jury that witches abound who "have forsaken God, renounced their baptisme, and vowed their service to the Devill", and, since he "is a spirit of darknes" and "deales closely and cunningly", "you shall hardly finde any direct proofes", yet "if we shall not convince [convict] them . . . they will in short tyme overrun the whole land".

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[1] The MS. is Sloane 831, British Museum. It calls itself "Marie Glover's late woefull Case", etc. A contemporary hand has inserted the name of "Francis Hering, Doctor in physick", as author of the opening "Narration" (ff. 1–41), and that of "Stephan Bredwell" as author of the long "Defence" (ff. 42–171) against Dr. Jorden. The second author has revised the MS. A later pen has smeared out Hering's name and changed Bredwell's to Bradwell.

King James, of course, had no part in all this: not till late March did he succeed the queen. But Mr. Cole must not say that his name "appears nowhere in the records and narratives of the Glover case". Swan's book is addressed to him; Dr. Hering welcomed him with a Latin ode; his *Dæmonologie* was constantly appealed to. Not he, but "the L. B. of Lond. (as som think)", backed Mary's critics. Her champions pinned their hopes to James. The controversy must have had its effect on the witch-statute of 1604.

Mr. Harrison, who now reëdits the great Lancashire witch-trial of 1612, is known as an entertaining writer on the literature and life of this period. A half-dozen years ago the *Dæmonologie* of King James and the *Newes from Scotland* (1591) chronicling James's exploits as an inquisitor appeared in his "Bodley Head quartos". He is one of those easy-going students of whom an English thinker has said that, hearing from one side that two and two make four, and from another that two and two make six, they are ready to assume, as a safe working rule, that two and two make five. Finding that as to witchcraft Mr. Summers believes everything and Dr. Notestein nothing, he casts in his fortunes with Miss Murray and her cult—and with never a word of the merciless tortures or the prompting questions that lie behind what he calls "the evidence". Yet he can also adopt from Mr. Summers his most preposterous assertion—that "the most brilliant minds, the keenest intelligences, the most learned scholars, the noblest names, all believed in witchcraft". Are not the old champions of witch-belief forever complaining of the skepticism of scholars? He can even echo the charge against Dr. Notestein of "avoiding the more nauseating details"—forgetting that to him, as to most students, these "details" are not the doings of witches, but the imaginings of their questioners. But, though Mr. Harrison's editing has not the learning nor the sanity of Sir Walter Scott, who in 1810 printed this *Discoverie* in the third volume of the Somers Tracts, or of James Crossley, who in 1845 edited it for the Chetham Society, he loyally reproduces the original text. Alas for the loss of Crossley's notes!

Hopkins's *Discovery of Witches* (*i.e.*, his defense of his methods for detecting them) is so brief as often to be reprinted, though seldom by itself. Frontispiece and all, it needs but nine leaves of Mr. Summers's booklet. He might have added the fuller and much rarer account of Hopkins's activities by his assistant Stearne; but he has preferred to give us a "study". Borrowed mainly from his *Geography of Witchcraft,* it adds nothing to our knowledge of the witch-finder's career. Nor is it greatly concerned with his views. The Puritan inquisitor was not one of those "erudite" witch-hunters by whose aid Mr. Summers is bringing back the good old days of faith and terror. What was wrong with him, we now learn, was that "he had no acquaintance with the works of the great demonologists". Aiming not, like these, at "the glory of God", he "well lined his own pockets" and "was, so to speak, a mere quack". His charges against the witches Mr. Summers gladly believes—yet with pious limitations. If it is testified that a witch called one of her imps "Jesus" or "Christ", he assures us that "this is not possible": "to name the Sanctissimum Nomen would be to banish the familiars and dissolve the enchantment." So little skilled is he with documents that he adds a year to Hopkins's brief crusade by taking literally his "March, 1644"—of course the March, 1645, of our calendar—and his partisanship is almost as robust as his credulity. Hopkins he calls "the accredited emissary of Parliament"—though *Hudibras*, his sole authority, has him accredited only "to the Devil". "Whilst Cromwell had the upper hand", he says, "the number of executions was far greater in England than ever before or since." As if Cromwell then controlled the courts or the Presbyterians! Those known to have perished during his Protectorate are but few. Yet the booklet is well printed, the reprint has no slips of any moment, and there are many lapses into common sense.

Cornell University. GEORGE L. BURR.

The Seventeenth Century. By G. N. CLARK, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. Pp. xii, 372. 15 s.)

HERE is a work written to the profit of historians rather than to that of the general reader unless exceptionally well-informed and reflective. It is analytical, not narrative, the author's purpose being to deal "briefly and dogmatically", as he says, with a number of the more important activities of the seventeenth century, and to show how they were mutually connected. Brevity is attained, first, by penetrating to the substantial unity of Western civilization underlying all variations and eccentricities; and second, by an economy and effectiveness of expression rarely achieved and much to be desired by historians. Such "dogmatism" is possible only to a scholarship richly stored, and capable of weighing, purifying, and fusing its knowledge. In short, firm sentences, like stepping-stones over morasses of change and uncertainty, Mr. Clark finds *sententiae* which can bear the weight of European experience during these hundred years: "The decline of Spain was the undoing of an international combination; the check to France was the setting of limits to the advance of a national state." "We may say that a frontier was ceasing to be an area and tending to become a line." "The doctrine of the divine right of kings . . . had reached a condition in which its theoretical groundwork had become unworthy of the intellectual atmosphere of the age, but its emotional force had reached its apex." "A language cannot be defined except as the speech of an organized people, and a literature cannot arise except in the medium of a common life." If, apart from their context, these judgments suggest a pontifical attitude or a search for epigrams, quotation has been highly misleading. Mr. Clark's judgments are in the nature of summaries: in them he glances back, measuring and reflecting, over the way he has come; or forward, over the stretch that is to be covered. Argument and evidence must be condensed, but they are not omitted. Objections to certain of these judgments will inevitably be raised by students familiar with the period. But they will as inevitably find the book rewarding and enjoyable.

If Mr. Clark speaks with decision, he speaks none the less with moderation. He refuses to be dazzled or amazed by his century; to compress it into a formula, or to emasculate it by ignoring its unities. These are, if the reviewer may be trusted: the declining, yet still regnant influence of classical studies, which "conquered a new province for each that they surrendered"; the new mathematical and scientific trend that carried over into politics, philosophy, trade, and even into art and letters; the sterility and the ferocity of ecclesiasticism; the "polarization" of energies about the state, which is further defined as "the substitution of a simpler and more unified government for the complexities of feudalism". As this substitution took place most evidently and symmetrically in France, the seventeenth century is, Mr. Clark thinks, the most French of all centuries. A further unity is discernible in the "early capitalism" of the age, with its combative and exclusive mercantilism, and its industry, painfully emancipating itself from guild control, and not yet imprisoned in the factories. But Mr. Clark is inclined to snub the economic historians for taking too much upon themselves, and though he deals with economic conditions in his initial chapters, it is, as he explains, to get them out of the way.

History may be presented, it would seem, in but two arrangements: the chronological "stream" of developments, changes, events, which attempts to simulate life, to get all that is important recorded in time relations even at some cost to clarity and coherence; and the checkered arrangement preferred here by Mr. Clark, in which Colonies, Education, Religion, etc., have each a chapter, with a minimum of intrusion. One understands history better in such categories, yet misses the rude symphony. "It was an age of immense energy", says Mr. Clark. But by this treatment, excellent as it is, the shock of that energy is lost; the peaks and depressions are leveled.

Vassar College. VIOLET BARBOUR.

The Petty Papers: Some Unpublished Writings of Sir William Petty. Edited from the Bowood Papers by the MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE. Two volumes. (London: Constable and Company; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1927. Pp. xlii, 276; xii, 309.)

The Petty-Southwell Correspondence, 1676–1687. Edited from the Bowood Papers by the MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE. (London: Constable and Company; New York: Richard R. Smith. 1928. Pp. xxxii, 343. $7.50.)

THE seventeenth century, with its scientific pragmatism imposed on a humanistic background, produced many versatile men, among whom was Sir William Petty. Long known for his economic writings and frequently called the "father of the statistical method", his thousands of papers on miscellaneous subjects have been unknown or forgotten. When Lord Fitzmaurice published his biography of Petty in 1895, he contemplated an edition of his works, but desisted upon hearing of Hull's forthcoming volumes of the economic writings; and only after many years did his nephew, the present Marquis of Lansdowne, descendant of Petty and possessor of most of his manuscripts, make these new contributions to the printed works of this remarkable man. Pepys called him "the most rational man that ever he heard speak"; and at the close of an evening of "excellent company and a good discourse", he wrote: "but above all, I do value Sir William Petty."

The *Petty Papers* contain 161 pieces classified under 26 heads, chief of which are government, London, Ireland, religion, dictionary, statistical, education, philosophy, military, pumps, poetry, and medical. Only a few of the last are included, since most of them are lengthy Latin discourses. Of the many English and Latin verses on every conceivable subject from political arithmetic to "Titus Otes", the manufacture of hobnails, and the sweetening of sea water, nine typical unimpressive selections are printed. "Upon Sir Wm. Petty's Badd Eyes" is not so good as Milton's sonnet on a similar subject.

Selection is based on what is "most interesting with a preference for the shorter documents and for diversity of subject". This diversity is striking but should be expected of one who, as surveyor, philosopher, and professor of music and anatomy, read papers before the Royal Society, wrote on political economy, medicine, and metaphysics, translated Psalms into Latin verse, and invented (or thought of inventing) "a wheele for one to run races in" (cycle), a new kind of war chariot anticipating the present "tank", and a double-bottomed boat much like the recent *Calais-Douvre*. Most of the selections are notes or ratiocinations, written down hastily and never revised. Some are in the form of numbered paragraphs, others are dialogues or questions and answers. Some are outlines or mere lists of titles; others approach being fully developed essays. When facing a new problem, it was Petty's habit "to meditate and fill a quire with all that could in nature be objected and to write down his answers to each so that when any new thing started, he was prepared as it were *ex tempore* to shoot them dead". The volumes bear out previous assurances of Petty's place in the use of the statistical method. He normally expressed himself in terms of number, weight, and measure. His one-time prayer, "God send mee the use of things and notions whose foundations are sense, and the superstructures mathematicall reasoning", reflects truthfully his idea of quality in intellectual effort.

There are useful introductions to each division, in addition to a forty page preface. An appendix on the disputed authorship of the *London Bills of Mortality* appears rather conclusive in favor of the claims of Petty (contrary to Hull's opinion), although Graunt's collaboration is recognized as important and considerable.

The *Petty-Southwell Correspondence* represents an unusually complete exchange of 194 letters, chiefly for the years 1685–1687. Nearly all are printed in full and only six have appeared previously. Except for twenty-four letters, fourteen of which antedate 1676, this is the entire extant collection, which was brought together in 1834 with Lord Lansdowne's purchase of Petty's letters from Southwell's descendants. From 1676 to 1684, Petty wrote from Dublin, where he was judge and registrar of the Admiralty Court, and Southwell from London. The later letters find Petty in London and Southwell in Gloucestershire.

Sir Robert Southwell was Petty's most intimate friend, literary censor, and potential Boswell. He was a patient, sympathetic, but moderating critic, and undoubtedly kept many of Petty's works from contemporary print. Except for Ireland, there is little of general historical interest in the correspondence. No allusion is found to the Popish Plot, the Exclusion Bill, or Monmouth's Rebellion—silence to which the censorship may have contributed. But the correspondence is of great interest and importance as an exchange of thought between two prominent Restoration men (both members of Parliament and of the Royal Society), and as a footnote to Petty's works. It concerns itself chiefly and constantly with his unending ideas, projects, and writings, and Southwell's criticisms thereof. Piquancy is gained from the utter contrast between the two men. Southwell was conservative, suave, cautious in word and deed, and unoffending. Petty was outspoken, effervescent, seldom unoriginal, and always pugnacious. The volume is well annotated. There is another short, seemingly conclusive bout with a recent champion of Graunt. Collectors will regret the different format from the *Petty Papers,* which display beautiful typography from the Chiswick Press.

The three volumes reveal for the first time the man Petty—versatile, original, interesting—a worthy addition to the small seventeenth century group whose many readers know them as " friends ".

Northwestern University. Clyde L. Grose.

The Cambridge History of the British Empire. Volume IV., *British India, 1497–1858.* Edited by H. H. Dodwell, M.A., Professor of the History and Culture of the British Dominions in Asia, University of London. (Cambridge: the University Press; New York: Macmillan. 1929. Pp. xxii, 683. $8.00.)

In these thrilling days of India's development into modern nationhood it is with added interest that this timely volume on the history of British India will be read and studied. All serious students of the relations between the West and the East will welcome the appearance of this book which not only stands as the fourth volume in the *Cambridge History of the British Empire,* but is also the fifth volume of the *Cambridge History of India,* the third volume of which was recently reviewed in this journal.

Professor Dodwell and his able fellow contributors have left little to be desired in the conception and plan of the book, as well as in the manner of its execution. Naturally it is chiefly a recital of the commercial and imperialistic transactions of the European nations in relation to India from the latter part of the fifteenth century onward, and consequently it tells more about what these nations have done *in* and *to* India, rather than about India itself. The rise and development of the British power in India is furnished with a complete background. One after another we see the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the British gain a foothold in India, and each one displacing the other in turn. In every case India is the pawn in the commercial and political game, which is played with large and increasing profit both tangible and intangible. Then as now, political affairs at the "home base" played no small part in the destinies of India, which is clearly revealed by the chapters on the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War, both of which conflicts in one way or another led to the overthrow of France's power, thus preventing the realization of Dupleix's fond hopes, and placing Britain in a position of becoming the paramount power in India.

The early history of the British in India is that of the East India Company, which began operations in 1600. Starting with trade in spices and other Indian articles as its main objective, and seeking only such permits, grants, and privileges from the Indian rulers as would further this end, and guarantee the safety of its factories in western India, Madras, and Bengal, it inevitably became involved in affairs of an entirely different nature. Ultimately the company took upon itself, as in Bengal, the function of collecting land revenue, and began to take a hand in the removal and appointment of Indian rulers. To enable the company to carry out its gradually increasing governmental functions, as well as to aid in the protection of its rapidly extending properties and commercial interests, it had the support of British troops. It is little wonder that, with the march of events from the middle of the eighteenth century onward, no little resentment should have been aroused on the part of the Indian princes as they watched the slow, but sure and certain increase of British power against which their gradually disintegrating resistance was of little or no avail. The story of the company in Bengal, Hastings's treatment of the rulers of Benares and Rampur, the relations with Oudh, the disastrous attempt to conquer Afghanistan, the doubtfully correct reasons for the conquest of Sind, and the overthrow of the Sikh power in the Punjab are all dealt with in a plain, unvarnished manner, which provides a clear and impressive background for the proper study and evaluation of the psychological and political phenomena that we behold in India to-day.

Perhaps it is not too much to say that one of the best features of the volume is the vivid and thoroughly human picture which it gives of the outstanding personalities of the period under review. Clive and Hastings, in particular, are revealed in all their greatness and with all their failings.

The last two chapters on the Indian States, and the Development of Sovereignty in British India present a summary of the circumstances leading up to and the essential features of the present relations existing between the Indian States and the paramount power, and the development of that power in its present form.

The whole history of the three hundred and fifty years dealt with in this book represents a conflict not merely of contending military, economic, and political forces, but of the culture and ideals of the West and East as well. This is effectively summed up in the closing sentences of the last chapter where the curtain falls on the last of the Moghuls as he is removed from even the show of authority after the Mutiny:

> The relations between the East India Company and the Moghul, the one exercising and the other claiming the attributes of sovereignty, the one possessed of material power and the other of mystic superiority, the one obeyed and the other revered, were by no means extraordinary. The peculiar factor in this case was not a separation of right and power, but the fact that the East India Company was not a purely Indian body, that it represented the sovereign of Great Britain and brought with it a European impatience of pretensions that had ceased to have a basis in fact.

The bibliography is very extensive and includes the lists of sources such as manuscripts, printed periodicals, books, and state papers carefully classified and arranged by chapters. There is a useful chronological table, and an index, but it seems very unfortunate that nowhere in the book is there a single map. A series of maps designed to illustrate the separate periods dealt with would have materially improved what is in any case a very valuable book.

Budaun, India. MURRAY T. TITUS.

Warren Hastings and Philip Francis. By SOPHIA WEITZMAN, M.A., PH.D. With an Introduction by Ramsay Muir, M.A. [Publications of the University of Manchester, no. CCII.] (Manchester University Press. 1929. Pp. xxx, 400. 25 s.)

DR. WEITZMAN was at one time a student of Mr. Ramsay Muir, to whom she expresses great indebtedness. He contributes an introduction to the book which is the development of a doctoral dissertation accepted at the University of Manchester in 1921. The writer aims, " while retelling the story of the conflict " between Warren Hastings and Sir Philip Francis, to place " facts, many known, some new, in a fresh light ", and to disentangle " from' the maze of personalities the principles involved ". Further, she endeavors to appraise some of " the far reaching consequences ", which the controversy involved, " both on contemporary events at home and in India and on the later policy of Briton in India ". Naturally a mass of literature has accumulated on various aspects of the careers of both Hastings and Francis—indeed, a previous volume prepared under the supervision of Mr. Ramsay Muir by Miss M. E. Monckton-Jones furnishes a penetrating study of Hastings in Bengal, 1772–1774. Moreover, the Hastings materials have to a considerable extent been published, while some of the Francis papers—all of which were recently deposited in the India Office by Sir Philip's great-grandson—were utilized years ago by Park and Merivale, though mainly in connection with the letters of Junius; also, as far as they went, they were extremely uncritical of their evidence.

Certainly no previous writer has gone into the struggle between Hastings and Francis so thoroughly as Dr. Weitzman. She has searched patiently through no less than twelve manuscript collections, including the Robinson Papers in Eridge Castle—only inadequately calendared in the tenth *Report* of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. In addition, she has gone over much printed source material, to say nothing of numbers of monographs and general histories.

Although there is no doubt of her attitude toward the great governor general and his opponent, her championship of the former is chiefly manifested through her condemnation of the latter, whose rancor and vindictiveness, as depicted by her from his writings, almost pass belief. Also, she shows more conclusively than any who have preceded her how far Francis was responsible for Hastings's impeachment, particularly for the charges on which it was based. It might be urged that in theory there were grounds for Francis's opposition to the methods of taxation employed by his adversary and for his aversion to expansion in India. The answer is that the natives would have suffered more under the Zemindars than under Hastings's officials, and that efforts to remain neutral would not have insured avoidance of war.

There are about two hundred pages in this scholarly study, supplemented by an almost equal number composed of appendixes in which correspondence and other original materials are reprinted.

A. L. C.

Vie de Madame Roland. Par Madeleine Clemenceau-Jacquemaire. Tome I., II. (Paris: Tallandier. 1929. Pp. 285, 289. 25 frs. each.)

In the eighteenth century posterity had its uses. Posterity, Diderot said, is "the other world of the philosopher", and certainly no philosopher of those times hoped more ardently than Madame Roland to live in that other world. The secret (not that she failed to reveal it!) of the young Manon, living a restricted middle class life but familiar with the best ancient and modern writers, was the conviction that had she been born a man in the happier age of Rome or Athens she too would have done deeds worthy to be recorded in humanity's great book of martyrdoms. A dream this was, since opportunity was little likely to knock even once at the stuffy apartment on the Pont Neuf; and after the death of her mother, when her father was dissipating her little fortune, it was no longer a question of heroic deeds—unless indeed marriage be one. Then came Roland, a philosopher like herself and a government official. Fascinated he was surely, but, philosopher or not, reluctant to marry beneath his station; determined she was if not fascinated, and with a cleverness we can only admire made herself his wife. For some years even the dream of serving mankind was forgotten, or nearly so, in the determination to make herself the indispensable wife of an indispensable official. Then, quite unexpectedly, came the Revolution—opportunity contrary to all probability knocking for the woman who had never really expected to hear it. So for a brief hour, on a well set stage, she played in the best classical tradition the heroic rôle of her youthful dreams. No end could have been more in keeping. Like the ancient worthies whom she wished to imitate, she too suffered martyrdom; and in the shadow of the guillotine she wrote her "Appeal to Impartial Posterity" in the belief that she too would be gratefully remembered—"et *moi aussi*, j'aurai quelque existence dans la génération future".

Posterity did indeed treat her kindly. It cherished her as she most wished to be cherished—as an ideal martyr for human liberty. For more than a hundred years future generations read and reread her *Memoirs*, taking her for the most part at her own valuation. The best French critics and men of letters sketched her personality and analyzed her character in charming and penetrating essays. An accomplished scholar, M. Claude Perroud, made it a life work to edit her works with a meticulous care such as has been given to the writings of no other revolutionary leader. The story of her life has been many times told, for the most part by women—by Mathilde Blind (1886), by Ida Tarbell (1896), by Ida Taylor (1911), by Mrs. Pope-Hennessy (1918), by Evangeline Blashfield (1922). Another life, by Catherine Young, is now in press (Knopf); and just off the press is still another, by Madame Clemenceau-Jacquemaire. "J'aurai *quelque* existence dans la génération future." For once Madame Roland overstepped the bounds of modesty—the *quelque* might have been omitted.

Of all the lives, this one is the most scholarly and the most judicious. I have been told, and can well believe, that Madame Clemenceau-Jacquemaire has given years of patient research (why is research necessarily patient?) to the sources, not only those printed but those in the Paris and provincial archives. Fortunately, she is something of an artist as well as a scholar. Her object has not been to compile all the "little facts" that make up a life. She assumes that "Madame Roland is not unknown and that the reader is acquainted with the history of the French Revolution". She therefore passes rapidly over long periods and omits many events in order to present at leisure those incidents which, "charged with emotion and sentiment", serve best to "disengage the original qualities" of a personality. The decisive event in Madame Roland's life was her marriage with Roland, since that made possible her "public life and tragic death". The first chapter (Thalès et la Nymphe de l'ile de Notre Dame) therefore deals at length with the lively episode of her marriage, the events of her youth being brought in for the purpose of elucidating that decisive step. A second chapter (M. et Mme. de la Platière) is given to the rather humdrum years of her married life before the Revolution A third and final chapter, of 354 pages believe it or not, is devoted to her brief revolutionary career (La Tragédie de la Muse).

The main divisions are excellent, and the titles appropriate. But a chapter of 354 pages without a break! Perhaps it is the artistic conscience that demands it. Perhaps it is the scholar's desire to impose no preconceived pattern on the facts. At all events, within the chapters Madame Clemenceau-Jacquemaire refuses to order her material. Chronology is her only method. She fashions no story in narrative form. Without haste, without rest, she presents us with every situation, every episode that concerned Madame Roland in the order in which it occurred. Each situation is fully documented with numerous quotations from the sources; each is analyzed with acuteness and discussed with insight. It is the fullest and most intelligent analysis of Madame Roland's revolutionary career that has been written. Especially satisfactory is the treatment of Madame Roland's aversion for Danton, and of her relations with Buzot. It is not merely that Madame Clemenceau-Jacquemaire "knows her facts". As was said of Poincaré, it is possible to know everything and understand nothing. Madame Clemenceau-Jacquemaire not only knows, she understands her eighteenth century and her Madame Roland. She possesses that rare combination of powers so essential to the biographer—the sympathetic imagination which enables her to think and feel as Madame Roland thought and felt, and the objective curiosity which enables her to stand aloof and estimate the quality of that thought and feeling. Unlike many historians, she can breathe without discomfort the rarefied air of the eighteenth century intellectual climate. Because Roland bores us, she acutely remarks, we need not yield to the pleasure of supposing that he bored his wife. To understand that Roland did not bore his wife—we can not really ask more of the sympathetic imagination than that. Madame Clemenceau-Jacquemaire understands that because she understands her Madame Roland—the woman who "felt with her mind", the woman whom a contemporary likened to "frozen flame", the woman who, like so many philosophers of her time, derived all her intellectual force and clarity from the easy and confident identification of reality with the neat phrases employed to describe it. The woman who emerges from this long and detailed analysis is accordingly not the Madame Roland of legend—either the old legend created by Lamartine, or the new one created by Mathiez. She is a very real person whom we may admire, whose limitations for the business in hand we may deplore, whose foibles we may take with an indulgent or even a cynical smile. Nevertheless, there are two classes of readers who will think Madame Clemenceau-Jacquemaire's book quite inadequate—those who can find no fault in Madame Roland, and those who can find no virtue in Danton. But that, I think, need not too greatly trouble Madame Clemenceau-Jacquemaire.

Cornell University. CARL BECKER.

The Peace Tactics of Napoleon, 1806–1808. By H. BUTTERFIELD, M.A., Fellow of Peterhouse. (Cambridge: University Press. 1929. Pp. viii, 395. 16 s.)

THIS is a superb and closely knit analysis of the diplomatic history of two years. From the summer of 1806 to the spring of 1808 the genius of Napoleon as a master of diplomacy was at its height. By alternate threats and promises, by cajolery, craft, innuendo, and bluster he intimidated Prussia, bewitched Russia, drew Austria into his net, and not without some real measure of success intrigued at the court of St. James.

The book is extraordinarily well-written. It deals skillfully with the complicated and entangled diplomatic correspondence of five countries; it tells of the revival of the European coalition after Jena, of its failure and disaster; it relates the imperial triumph at Tilsit and its consequences; and it describes minutely all efforts made toward an international peace settlement during this period. Soldiers and battles and campaigns are scarcely mentioned. Its heroes and villains are diplomats: but they are not the usual diplomats of historical tradition, lay figures stuffed in uniform. Even such minor actors on the diplomatic stage as Lord Hutchinson, who represented England at the Prussian court, Budberg, the Russian chancellor, Tolstoy, the Czar's ambassador at Paris, and Alopeus, who represented him at London, influenced, changed, and deflected the course of European affairs, and to their various personalities and whims the author has devoted considerable attention.

We begin with the eager haste of the Prussians to conclude peace after Jena and the reluctance of Napoleon to concede it, until the hardships suffered by his army in winter quarters after Eylau and the mutterings of war heard from the Danube led to a partial change of heart. Austria, meanwhile, on the suggestion of the Czar timidly proposed mediation, and Prussia in the name of all of the allies asked for a European congress. Napoleon toyed with this idea until Friedland. As for the English, "The British government seemed to have no interest in the continent; it fought rather for Buenos Ayres and Egypt, collecting more maritime plunder for itself. The spirit of Pitt seemed dead".

There followed Tilsit, and Canning's thrust at Copenhagen which, according to Mr. Butterfield, "gave a lead to the country. For it was a defiant gesture, a shout of derisive laughter in the face of the Franco-Russian conspiracy". From now on there was but little hope of peace although Starhemberg, the Austrian ambassador at London, and Alopeus the Russian, carried on negotiations with Canning well into the year 1808.

One hesitates to criticize adversely a book so fascinating and so thoroughly documented as *The Peace Tactics of Napoleon.* Nevertheless the suspicion will not down that the author has been subjected in some degree to the Napoleonic hypnotism which he so cleverly describes as responsible for the ensnaring of Alexander by the Corsican. Insincerity and trickery on the part of the allies scarcely condone insincerity and trickery on the part of the Imperator. Mr. Butterfield, it seems to us, is somewhat overkind to Napoleon and also, possibly, overharsh to the Prussians. At any rate, in three long appendixes, and with no little acumen, he goes out of his way to prove that Russia did not desert Prussia after Friedland, and throughout his book Frederic William and his ministers are held up to scorn, if not to ridicule and contempt.

The Peace Tactics of Napoleon is well indexed. There is no bibliography, but extensive footnotes attest the use of manuscript material in the archives of the various European capitals.

Princeton University. WALTER PHELPS HALL.

Histoire de la Nation Française. Dirigée par Gabriel Hanotaux. Tome V., *Histoire Politique, 1804 à 1926.* Par GABRIEL HANOTAUX, de l'Académie Française. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1929. Pp. 679. 85 fr.)

THIS is the last of the series known as the History of the French Nation and this particular volume is the work of the well-known editor himself. It covers the entire nineteenth century and follows the course of events in France well into the second decade of the present century. The work of M. Hanotaux is familiar to most of us and many have enjoyed his brilliant political narratives. While this latest effort resembles his previous books, even to the point of possessing some of the same weaknesses, it has, as well, a characteristic that marks an innovation in the general approach that Hanotaux has previously made to history. Rarely, if ever, has he written purely political history: there has always been the suggestion of a philosophy behind it but, in this fifth volume of his series, he is as much philosopher as political narrator.

To him, the nineteenth century is one of the greatest in the history of Europe. Just before its beginning, the direction of human affairs was in the hands of the élite. Almost everywhere there still existed "le cadre féodale". To-day, thirty years after its close, the picture is entirely changed. It is "la foule" that govern or, at least, the spirit and opinion of what Thiers called "la vile multitude". The people have seized the helm; soviets have driven out the Czar. To Hanotaux, the nineteenth century is a great romantic process that was followed by something very different. It gave proof of the remarkable elasticity and of the limits of human effort, while its successor, the twentieth century, is nothing but its tragical heir. The part of France in this romance and this tragedy is the theme of his book.

During the Revolution, the French people consecrated and developed small property. This conquest founded that union of bourgeoisie and peasantry which Hanotaux calls "the basis of French order in the nineteenth century". When this conquest was made, the bourgeoisie was possessed of a profound "coup d'oeil politique" that saved France from the iniquity of the past and the restlessness of the future. France was eager for liberty but to its complete attainment and security, there were two almost insurmountable obstacles. One was "Deficit"; the second was "Intrigue". And these two the country could not conquer except under a strong and powerful leader. Authority was necessary; Bonaparte answered the necessity and, declares the author, France called him. He became the "podesta" to sweep away the obstacles and to consolidate the accomplishments of the Revolution. But, if he was a "podesta", he was not, as in earlier times, a specialist in his field. The author regards the period of Napoleon's reign as one of trial and instruction even for Napoleon himself. Endowed with a remarkable intuitive faculty and with a "logique de mathématicien", Bonaparte set about to experiment and to learn how to consolidate the Revolution and to make France secure. He must assure the union of bourgeoisie and peasantry and bring about the fusion of the past with the present. That, to Hanotaux, was the "grande pensée" of Napoleon's reign. In other things, Napoleon failed, but his "grande pensée" succeeded. "Telle fût la mission propre de Napoléon: mettre l'ordre dans la Révolution. Son génie était égal à sa tâche." Almost one third of the book is devoted to the explanation of this theory and its application to the policies and practices of Bonaparte.

The succeeding years mark, in Hanotaux's opinion, merely the efforts of the French people to assert themselves and to regain what they had lost with their leader. When, at last, they discovered that the Restoration princes did not even recognize their existence, the French people, conscious of their ability, "tourmenté par son génie", proud of their wealth and their industry, arose to drive them off. The author calls the Revolution of July "une révolution avortée". Rich in ideas and in their growth, prosperous, the July Monarchy served only as a necessary schooling for the great struggle for freedom and for the final accomplishment of the designs that they had developed when Napoleon I. came to them. France failed to attain this victory in 1848 because she needed a man like the first Napoleon to provide the necessary authority to make it permanent, and, instead, committed that authority to Napoleon III., who refused to be her guide. Consequently, the true advent of democracy did not occur in France until 1871, when the first Frenchmen born under the régime of universal suffrage came to deposit their votes in the urn. Hanotaux regards the generation of 1871 as the first to register their own opinions, untrammelled and unhindered, in the assembly, and through their support, in time, came the establishment of the party that, to the author, is the truest exponent of the real democracy of the French Revolution, Gambetta and his followers who carry the affairs of the Republic, long after the death of their leader, down to the close of the century. It was they who brought to fruition the ideals with which Frenchmen began the nineteenth century. What follows the close of that century shows the world to be only its tragical heir.

Hanotaux has always had many readers who have not been in agreement with him, and, probably, the number will not be decreased by what he has written in this volume. There is movement and life in his sentences; there is the same brilliant style, eloquent and, possibly, a bit too oratorical. There is, as well, a great deal of thought behind this work, but, in this volume as in others that have come from his pen, M. Hanotaux is primarily a "Gambettiste" even before Gambetta appears on the scene. And, too, there are places where, it seems, the author has retained the old fallacies and prejudices of twenty years ago. Many will not agree, for example, with what he has to say of the negotiations concerning Metz, and, in the humble opinion of the reviewer, some parts of his treatment of the government of Thiers are not entirely in accord with more recent and usually accepted accounts. His is a philosophical and romantic treatment of nineteenth century France but it is not entirely in keeping with modern interpretations and opinions.

Yale Uiversity. JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe, 1871–1914. Publiée sous la direction de M. HENRI HAUSER, Professeur à l'Université de Paris par MM. J. ANCEL, L. CAHEN, R. GUYOT, A. LAJUSAN, P. RENOUVIN et H. SALOMON. Two volumes. (Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1929. Pp. 476, 389. 50 frs. each.)

THE literature on the origins of the World War is multiplying rapidly. Already there is more direct evidence on the subject from the secret foreign office archives than exists on any other war in history. The appearance of memoirs, correspondence, and autobiographies is a matter of almost daily occurrence. A dozen periodicals devote most, if not all, of their pages to European international relations leading up to the World War. Stimulated by the importance of the subject and by the steady stream of new evidence, an unusual number of historical scholars of high rank have essayed the writing of the history of pre-war diplomacy.

The two volumes by Professor Hauser and his associates belong in this class. They represent the coöperative effort of the editor and six collaborators. Two are members of the commission engaged in the publication of the French diplomatic documents. But the reader, who for this reason expects to find advance use of the French material, will be disappointed; the work is based mainly on sources already familiar. It is written in the clear logical style characteristic of French historical writing, despite the fact that the pages are at times overcrowded with details. The work as a whole lacks the unity of Fay or the earlier studies by Gooch, Brandenburg, and Bourgeois and Pagès. In an introduction of sixteen pages, the editor explains the plan of the work and what seem to him the main conclusions. For the most part, these do not differ from those entertained before the new evidence had appeared. Professor Hauser is not a specialist in the field, as he frankly admits, a fact that may explain the extraordinary comment (I. 12) that Fay, whose work has received general recognition of students in this country and abroad as eminently scholarly and fair, is one of the most ardent partisans "de la thèse des Empires centraux".

The authors find the roots of the war in the events of 1870–1871, from which arose the armed peace and the system of alliances. On the other hand, they do not regard the *Neue Kurs* of William II. and his advisers as quite so distinctly in harmony with Bismarckian policies as do some. (*Cf.*, La fin du Système Bismarckien.) The new policies, with the attendant braggadocio, bluster, and sabre-rattling, the sinister influence of Holstein, and Bülow's concern for his own and the empire's prestige are pictured with a keen sense of their effect upon international relations.

At times a tendency to overwork the evidence against the Central Powers manifests itself. Thus in Professor Ancel's account of the crisis over the annexation of Bosnia and Herzogovina, he quotes Bülow to Aehrenthal as follows, saying that if Izvolski continues his misrepresentations "poisoning public opinion in Russia and in the slavic world", and to give false information to his emperor, "on se demande s'il ne serait point temps de faire juge le public, et sans plus de considération de lui montrer que matériellement on serait capable de l'écraser". This mistranslation of the original in which Bülow speaks of crushing evidence (erdrückendes material) introduces a concept quite foreign to Bülow's letter.

Discussing the Anglo-French Entente, Professor Renouvin says, that in spite of the assurance by Lansdowne that the Entente contained no secret articles, Germany persisted in her demands. This casual implication that there were no secret articles is apt to be misleading, unless the reader already knows that the assurances were false, that there were important secret articles, and that Germany suspected as much. The statement (II. 8) that anxiety over "prestige" was at the bottom of her Moroccan policy, and that her economic interests were only a fiction developed by diplomacy, is only half the truth. The Kaiser and Bülow repeatedly stressed other reasons. In a lengthy survey of the case to Radolin in July, the chancellor gives five reasons for Germany's dissatisfaction, emphasizing particularly her present and potential economic and colonial interests. Furthermore, the paragraph from Holstein quoted in support of the *prestige* thesis would leave a different impression if the translation of "sondern noch mehr" were not given a fillip not in the original. The claim that England was not interested in Morocco (II. 183) needs explanation in the face of her very energetic action in both the Moroccan crises.

The difficulties in the Balkans in 1908 and again in 1912–1913 are treated in great detail, the editor finding in the imperialistic ambitions of Austria-Hungary's ruling cliques "d'en finir avec les Slaves" . . . "la cause determinante . . . la responsibilité de la guerre". On the other hand, the machinations of the Serbs against the integrity of the Dual Monarchy receive relatively little attention. The whole treatment of the Entente negotiations from the interim of 1912 are stinted as to space. Professor Renouvin presents the major facts in an admirably frank manner, but these developments constitute the crux of the controversies in the field. Even in a work of this size, they should be afforded space the authors give lavishly to matters of relatively less importance.

Hartwig gets a fairly clean bill of health; his sole object, according to Professor Ancel, was to bring the Slavs together (II. 225). Indeed, after reading this account of Hartwig, one wonders why Sazonov felt it necessary to complain of his militant Pan-slav minister at Belgrade, whose ardent advocacy of the Balkan alliance is well known, an alliance which so impressed Poincaré when he learned its terms that he called it a "convention de guerre", containing, according to his notes, "the germs of war, not against Turkey only but against Austria".

The proposal for intervention on the part of the Continental powers in the Boer War is presented as if it had developed entirely through the subtle suggestions of the Kaiser and Bülow (I. 389), yet, as Mr. Ancel himself points out (390), it was Mouraviev who made the definite proposals for intervention at Berlin and Paris. Bülow's report of the Russian overtures (*G. P.* 4472) would be to the point here.

Similarly the three power intervention against Japan after the Sino-Japanese war is laid at the door of Germany (I. 1, 230), despite the statements by Witte, Rosen, and *G. P.* (2243). Brandt's letter from Peking, quoted by the author, urging the Kaiser to bring about intervention, is not evidence that the suggestion was followed. Instances like this, of basing important conclusions on inconclusive evidence are not infrequent, as is shown further by such expressions as "selon Eckhardstein" or "à en croire Eckhardstein".

On the Austro-Serb controversy, Seton-Watson and Steed are much in evidence but not Miss Durham or Fay. Bogitschevitsch's important work, *Die Aussen Politik Serbiens,* and Earle's on the *Bagdad Railway* do not appear. Irregularities in the bibliographies reveal a lack of proper editorial supervision as to plan. Grey's *Twenty-five Years,* for example, appears in various forms, once as "Grey of Falloden (Lord) Thirty Years" (II. 98). Repington is without initials but Henry Wickham Steed is amply supplied.

The intricacies of the subject and the difficulty of arriving at definite conclusions appear constantly. Even so widely accepted a view as that stated by Professor Cahen, that the Triple Alliance was "le garantie . . . de sa securité" for each of the signatories, has recently been denied by Professor Salata, the chairman of the commission on the forthcoming Italian diplomatic documents, in his book on the Roman question and the Triple Alliance (1929). The recent appearance of the Austrian diplomatic documents makes necessary a revision of some of the most painstaking work of the authors.

Like nearly all the other works on this subject, these volumes fail to emphasize the connection between the activities and plans of the respective foreign offices and the more important factors of the political and economic world behind them. Only an occasional page or two is found on industrial and commercial rivalry, and virtually nothing on the important subject of the press. The utterances and policies of a few statesmen and diplomats in each country, working in secret, are accepted as the true expression of the political and economic aspirations of their respective countries. The anomaly is evident, and one wonders whether the time has not come for a new type of history of this period, proceeding from a study of how foreign affairs were conducted and what the contacts of the statesmen and diplomats really were with the deeper currents of national and international life during the fateful years before the World War.

The University of Pennsylvania. WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

Documents Diplomatiques Français, 1871–1914. Publiés par la Commission de Publication des Documents relatifs aux Origines de la Guerre de 1914. Troisième série, 1911–1914. Tome I., 4 Novembre, 1911–7 Février, 1912. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1929. Pp. xxxii, 659. 60 fr.)

THE French, following the example of the Germans and the English, have begun a voluminous publication of their pre-war diplomatic documents. They are to appear simultaneously in three series—from 1871 to 1900, from 1901 to 1911, and from 1911 to the outbreak of war in 1914. They are being edited under the authority of a commission of some fifty-three persons, comprising historical specialists, ex-diplomats, officials, and academicians. The historical specialists are in a small minority, but it augurs well for the reliability of the work that such a sound scholar as M. Renouvin is taking a leading part in the selection of material, which is to be drawn not only from the Foreign Office archives but also from the army, navy, and colonial departments and from the private correspondence of former ambassadors and ministers.

Profiting by the experience of the German and British editors, the French have hit upon an ingenious scheme which goes a long way to meet the objections both to a strictly chronological arrangement and to the more or less topical classification in the German and British collections. The French have very wisely adopted an absolutely chronological arrangement for all the documents, but have preceded them by an admirable topical table of contents under twenty-three headings and subheadings. By using this table one can easily pick out quickly all the material on any of these twenty-three topics, almost as easily as if the documents were classified in topical chapters. But at the same time the reader has the advantage of having under his eye at once the whole network of multifarious influences which existed at any given moment. There is also an excellent index.

The present volume, the first of the third series, is a detailed cross section of French diplomacy from the date of the signature of the Franco-German Morocco Convention of November 4, 1911, to February 7, 1912, when Lord Haldane started on his mission to Berlin to discuss the Anglo-German naval problem. Naturally therefore several of the topical subheadings group the documents which show how France sought to secure the adherence of the other powers to the Moroccan Convention.

Spain had to be mollified by a supplementary convention defining her own rights in Morocco and by arrangements for placing Tangier under international control. Belgium long delayed to give her adherence, because she was worried over article XVI. relating to rights of preëmption in the Belgian Congo. Austria also delayed, because Aehrenthal tried to use his adherence as a lever to extort from the French government a promise to facilitate the listing of Austrian and Hungarian bonds on the Paris Bourse. But the French, fearing that any such loans would be used for Austro-Hungarian armaments to the detriment of the Triple Entente, refused. In the end Aehrenthal was compelled rather awkwardly to give his assent and to deny that he had tried to use it as a financial lever.

Very interesting is the long summary, occasioned by Captain Faber's revelations, which M. Daeschner, French chargé d'affaires in London, gives of Anglo-German relations during the Agadir crisis (no. 160). According to this, the real danger came in July after Lloyd George's Mansion House speech, and not in August and September, as is often assumed, when the British army and navy were making active preparations and when the press was particularly hostile.

A large number of documents naturally deal with the problems raised by the Turco-Italian War—the innumerable projects of intervention inconsiderately put forward by Russia, the repercussion of the war on Balkan problems, the Italian seizure of French vessels like the *Manouba* and the *Carthage* charged with carrying contraband, and the vain effort of Izvolski to open the Straits to Russian warships by demanding support from France and by the secret instructions sent to Charykov at Constantinople. As is well known, his effort failed, partly because the Turks, stiffened by Germany, refused to agree to Charykov's proposals, and partly because Sazonov, who had just returned to Paris from a long illness at Davos, apparently became convinced that England was still as much opposed to a one-sided opening of the Straits as she had been in 1908. The Russian ambassador in London had come over to Paris to see Sazonov and seems to have convinced him of the English opposition. Thereupon Sazonov stated in a press interview, quite contrary to the truth, that Russia had not undertaken any negotiations with Turkey about the Straits, and Charykov was made the scapegoat for Izvolski's failure. In this affair the French diplomatic representatives in Constantinople, St. Petersburg, and Sofia were quick in seeing through Russia's intentions and in grasping the truth. And in general, one is struck with the high ability of most of the French diplomatic agents and the close harmony which they maintained with the French Foreign Office. The one exception was M. Crozier at Vienna, whose efforts for a closer understanding between Austria and France found no approval at the Quai d'Orsay and eventually led to his recall.

Not alone in the Charykov affair did France find ground for irritation in the secret and aggressive designs of her Russian ally. Izvolski wanted France to give Russia diplomatic support in connection with the Manchurian railway and other North China questions, where France had no direct interests of her own. France could not afford to do this too freely for fear of offending England and Japan and of seeming to abandon the "open door" principle which had been promised to the United States. Moreover, she ran the risk of antagonizing the Chinese and of thus weakening her own position in South China: "We have more than a billion invested in China, and our position in Tonkin might suffer from the effects of a Russian advance in the North" (no. 54). This lack of harmony between France and Russia had its counterpart in the Triple Alliance. Italy's sudden attack on Turkey had embarrassed her two Teutonic allies. The Austrian chief of staff, Baron Conrad, wanted to seize the moment when Italian troops were away in Africa to wage a preventive war on Italy, and had to be removed by Aehrenthal. Germany meanwhile was pressing for a renewal of the Triple Alliance. Thus in both European groups there was far from being complete harmony and solidarity. As a Frenchman neatly summed up the European situation, "Triple Entente sans alliance; Triple Alliance sans entente".

On the whole one may say that there are no very striking new revelations in this volume. It tends to confirm what we already know from the *Livres Jaunes*, the *Livre Noir, Die Grosse Politik,* and the first volume of Poincaré's memoirs. But on minor points there is a wealth of new detail and individual personalities stand out more sharply. As compared with the new Austrian publication, it is considerably more extensive for this period of thirteen weeks—631 French documents in 641 pages, and 412 Austrian documents in 310 pages. But this extensive character and the fact that it must be printed in the French government printing office makes it likely that it will be many years before this third series reaches the critical days of July, 1914.

Harvard University. Sidney B. Fay.

Lord Lansdowne: a Biography. By Lord Newton, P.C. (New York and London: Macmillan and Company. 1929. Pp. xiv, 536. $8.50.)

It is now nearly a hundred years since the enactment of the first Reform Bill, and during this period the patricians of Great Britain have suffered many hard knocks. Not only has their power declined in consequence of the Industrial Revolution, but war taxes and succession duties have done much to cut away the groundwork of their status as a territorial aristocracy. Despite these blows of circumstance, they continue to supply to the state servants whose allegiance to party does not obscure the sincerity of their patriotism. Obviously the career of Lord Lansdowne was shaped by the same general conditions which, since the establishment of the democratic order, have determined the political activities of the Cecils, the Cavendishes, and the Churchills.

Short of becoming prime minister, Lansdowne had his full share of the great prizes—Canada, India, the War Office, the Foreign Office, the leadership of the Unionist party in the House of Lords; and looking back over the record in its totality, he was entitled to feel that he had done a good day's work. In depicting its incidents Lord Newton has selected his materials with great skill and has succeeded in effecting a very distinct delineation of character.

There can be no doubt that the general effect of this book will be to enhance Lord Lansdowne's reputation as a statesman, while it is equally certain that Lord Newton's portrayal of his personal qualities places him upon a secure pedestal. Within a relatively narrow circle his fineness of nature made itself felt with persistence during his lifetime, but now it becomes possible for all to see how sincere and how admirable he was.

It would be hard to discover in any country during Lord Lansdowne's generation any parliamentarian or diplomatist of equal eminence who owed less to the press. When Macaulay entered the House of Commons from the pocket borough of Calne, as a nominee of the then Lord Lansdowne, one could have a seat even in the popular branch of the legislature without bothering about his constituents. The fifth Marquis of Lansdowne, with his ancestral background and his seat in the House of Lords, paid no attention to Fleet Street. Lord Newton says it is doubtful whether he gave a press interview during his long life. "He certainly never posed for a press photograph, and never, so far as is known, attempted to influence an editor or to inspire a personal paragraphist. As he cultivated no peculiarity of dress, owned no race horses, and would probably not have understood what was meant by a publicity agent, such a man remained almost unrecognized and devoid of interest to the general public."

Confining his biography to a single volume, Lord Newton economizes space by abridging that portion of the book which relates to Lansdowne's vice-regal experiences in Canada and India. This enables him to dwell with considerable fullness upon the twelve years which lie between Lansdowne's return from India in 1894 and the overthrow of the Balfour government at the election of 1906. A Whig by tradition and temperament, Lansdowne had been driven from the Liberal party by Gladstone's Irish policy, and after his return from India his alignment was consistently with the Tories. Of all the great posts which he filled that of the War Office was least congenial to him, and added least to his reputation. At the same time, he, in conjunction with Lord Wolseley, effected changes in the army which were so fundamental in character as to facilitate greatly what was accomplished by Lord Haldane during the period immediately preceding the World War. Indeed it is to Lansdowne that Lord Newton traces the act which made possible the expeditionary forces of 1914. "Lord Lansdowne", he says, "was the first War Minister who organized the army for a considerable war when none was in sight, and he was also the first to hazard his own career by insisting, even to the point of resignation, on an expenditure to which many of his colleagues demurred."

The most arresting portion of this book is, inevitably, that which describes Lansdowne's work at the Foreign Office from 1900 to 1906. It was not for nothing that he traced his lineage to Talleyrand. With personal standards which were infinitely higher than those of his ancestor, he brought to the work of diplomacy a real aptitude. Assuming the possession of intelligence, industry, and fairness, the chief requisites of the diplomatist are tact and firmness; and both were possessed by Lansdowne to a high degree. The great occasions on which he had an opportunity to illustrate them were afforded by his negotiations with Japan and France. Having studied his career with all the diligence of a scrupulous biographer, Lord Newton sums up Lansdowne's work at the Foreign Office in these words:

> He will always be best remembered in connection with the Anglo-Japanese Treaty and the Anglo-French *entente*. In the former case it was decision and the courage to face responsibility which were required; in the latter, infinite patience combined with firmness . . . Perhaps the best tribute to his success during five critical years was that his policy was never seriously impugned and that his successor followed implicitly in his footsteps. The fact is that he was exactly suited for the Foreign Office, both by training and by natural and hereditary aptitude. His instinct was essentially diplomatic and he possessed all the requisite qualities.

Next to this account of Lansdowne's work at the Foreign Office, the high spot of this volume is represented by chapter XX. entitled The Peace Letter. No one who was living in 1917 can forget the commotion which was caused by Lansdowne's communication of November 29 to the *Daily Telegraph*. Here Lord Newton's comments are these: first, that the letter did not represent a crisis of nerves, but embodied the same views which Lansdowne had set forth in a memorandum written on November 13, 1916, at the request of the prime minister, who had asked the members of the War Committee to "express their views" as to the terms by which peace might be concluded; secondly, Lord Newton cites the reference made by Lord Grey of Fallodon to the missed opportunities for peace. "Prosperity and security might be to-day more fair in prospect for us all than the victory of 1918 and the treaties of 1919 have made them; and there would have been a peace with no noxious secret ideas of *revanche*." Lord Newton's own views are expressed thus: "A negotiated peace, although it might have disappointed many aspirations, would certainly have effected a more permanent European settlement than exists at the present day . . . on the whole, therefore, it seems not inconceivable that a future generation may take the view that Lord Lansdowne was right, after all."

Throughout the volume Lord Newton's attitude is one of sympathetic though not slavish admiration, and his interpretation of character is such as to illustrate very fully his own high qualities. The Personal Sketch by Lord Ernest Hamilton which constitutes appendix II. is also an eminent example of the devotion evoked among intimates by one possessed of the courtesy, kindliness, and sincerity, which were essential elements in Lord Lansdowne's character.

Montreal. CHARLES W. COLBY.

Erzherzog Franz Ferdinands Wirken und Wollen. Von LEOPOLD VON CHLUMECKY. (Berlin: Verlag für Kulturpolitik. 1929. Pp. 378. 10 M.)

WHEN Professor Fay wrote the chapter of his well-known book which dealt with the political views and policies of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand he was obliged to do a good deal of pioneer work, for there was little material at his disposal beyond the unorganized notes of Conrad, the meager scraps of information in Margutti's volume on Francis Joseph, and the personal appreciations of the archduke by men like Nikitsch-Boulles. Curiously enough the last two years have seen the publication of a long series of books on the personalities and events of the pre-war Hapsburg empire and its collapse. Taken all in all these works are of very high order and have served to dispel much of the uncertainty and obscurity that hung over the complex problems of Austro-Hungarian government and policies. Two biographies of the murdered heir to the Hapsburg throne have appeared along with the studies of the emperor and the Crown Prince Rudolf. The first of these, the biographical study of Theodor Sosnosky, is a well-informed and illuminating piece of work, which amplifies quite extensively what has hitherto been known of the man and attempts to show that his views were those of a really important statesman.

Leopold von Chlumecky's book, which is here reviewed, is not a biography properly speaking. It tells us nothing of the external events of Francis Ferdinand's career and does not take up the dramatic story of his marriage. Even his relations with the emperor are touched upon only indirectly. What Chlumecky tries to do is to set forth the archduke's *Wirken und Wollen* and to determine the importance of the part he played in the decade before his assassination. It should be said at the outset that it would be hard to find a person better fitted to discharge this task, for Chlumecky's father played more than a secondary rôle in the reign of Francis Joseph and the author of the book himself was active politically and journalistically in the old Austria. His connection with the archduke and his circle was a very close one, and he is able to refer repeatedly to information which came to him from the most unimpeachable sources. This is the more important because the papers of the archduke were sequestered by the emperor for a period of fifty years, so that a definitive biography can not be written for a long time to come.

Chlumecky does not add materially to what has become known of Francis Ferdinand's views, but his book is full of interesting and valuable supplementary information, relating not only to questions of foreign policy, but also to matters of domestic concern. Indeed, the chief value of the book lies in the detailed discussion of the internal situation, in the examination of the projected triadic reorganization of the empire and in the analysis of the working of the dualistic system. No one will claim that these matters make easy reading. In fact it would be hard to imagine anything more intricate than the Hapsburg problem in the form which it assumed after the rise of national sentiment among the peoples that made up the monarchy. This book entirely confirms the general view that the personality of Francis Joseph, so penetratingly analyzed by Professor Redlich, did much to bring about a situation that could hardly be rectified. Chlumecky himself seems to doubt, in places, whether even Francis Ferdinand, with his energy, clear-headedness, and persistence, could have found the way out of the labyrinth, though he describes the archduke and Conrad as the two outstanding men of the dying empire, and pictures them as men who were quite abreast of the times and fully aware of the necessity of giving all the nationalities a fair share in the government in order to maintain among them a genuine interest in the common heritage. That the old emperor was unable to adjust himself to the new conditions, that he was unable to free himself from his dynastic prejudices is perfectly clear, but it is almost equally obvious that he was bound hand and foot by the terms of the compromise with Hungary. Chlumecky is no less severe than the archduke himself in his condemnation of the blindness and obstinacy of the ruling Magyar oligarchy which insisted on pursuing a policy that hurried not only the empire as a whole, but the kingdom of Hungary as well, along the road to perdition.

One lays down all these books with a certain feeling of sadness, not to say tragedy, for the story of the last Hapsburg is not very edifying. There were men of vision who foresaw the approaching disaster, but all these authors are agreed that such men were systematically kept from power and they all enlarge on the theme of intrigue, obstruction, backbiting, and recrimination which seem to have been inseparable from the old régime. The more light is thrown upon the scene of pre-war Austrian history the more evident it becomes that the seeds of destruction were there in abundance and that the final collapse was only a matter of time. Francis Ferdinand would have made a desperate attempt to stave off the evil day, but it is not unlikely that his efforts at reform would have ended in civil war or even in international complications. But to his friends, at least, his tragic end appeared like the last and fatal stroke of Hapsburg misfortune.

Harvard University. William L. Langer.

Graf Stefan Tisza: Briefe, 1914–1918. Edited by Oskar von Wertheimer. (Berlin: Reimar Hobbing. 1928. Pp. 272. 10 M.)

The attitude and views of Count Tisza, prime minister of Hungary, at the outbreak of the European war, have for long been a subject of speculation among historians. It is well known that Tisza was against the extreme terms inserted in the ultimatum addressed to Serbia, July 23, 1914; nevertheless he remained in office as Hungarian premier, and therefore accepted responsibility for the war waged on Serbia by Austria and Hungary in common; he himself acknowledged in a letter written to Baron Julius Wlassics on September 16, 1916, that he with "so heavy a heart, has decided to share the responsibility of the war".

In 1924 the Hungarian Academy of Sciences began the publication of his letters and speeches from July 1, 1914, onwards, in the Magyar tongue. These have been used by Fay in his well-known book. Some extracts were also printed in *Kriegsschuldfrage*, III. (December, 1925), pp. 818–826. The *American Historical Review* in January, 1924 (XXIX. 301–315), printed some highly interesting documentary information contributed by Marczali, with a commentary by S. B. Fay. This small collection is all the more valuable as it supplements the important information given out in the German translation of the Hungarian Academy's edition of Tisza's letters (the speeches are not included in the German translation).

The picture given in these letters is that of a strong, level-headed statesman, with a deep sense of responsibility, a kind heart, ready, in most circumstances, to accept reasonable compromises. That he made one terrible and fatal mistake is certain, in abandoning his original opposition to Berchtold's scheme of forcing a war upon Serbia. Why he consented, the letters do not explain. To his niece, Margit von Zeyk, he writes on August 26, 1914: "My conscience is quiet. The noose was already put round our neck, with which, if we had not cut it, they at the appropriate moment would have throttled us."

Once the Dual Monarchy was embarked on the war, Tisza's mind was quite clear. There was only one duty for everybody, to work together to bring the struggle to a successful conclusion. We learn from the letters that the failure of the war against Serbia in August, 1914, combined with the failure to withstand the Russian advance toward Lemberg, looked like bringing about the collapse of the whole Austro-Hungarian resistance early in September. Tisza himself, although Hungary was just as important as Austria in the war, and just as much its own master, was treated very badly. He was not kept informed from the Ballplatz of the diplomatic policy of Austria during the war. On September 4, 1914, he writes to Berchtold (kindly, with the fraternal *du*) to say that he can not possibly direct policy in Hungary if he is not kept informed of the development of policy in the Foreign Office at Vienna (which, after all, was a joint Austro-Hungarian department). He had not even been told what it was that Colonel House had recently proposed. "I pray you", he writes, "keep me *au courant* with the further phases of this affair."

A large number of the letters deal with the attitude of Italy and of Roumania during the time while these states were neutral. Such letters throw light not merely upon Italy and Roumania, but also still more on Hungary. They show the absolute intransigence of the Hungarian government when any question arose concerning possible cession of its territory. Tisza also advised Austria against making any large territorial cession to Italy (see letters of May 1, 4, 5, 1915). Likewise, Tisza declared absolutely against the plan for a triune state, for an Austro-Hungarian-Slav union or federation; for this would destroy dualism, the complete equality of Hungary, counting for one half, with the Austrian lands, counting for the other half of the monarchy. Nothing must be allowed to alter this balance of power, this *Dualismus* and *Parität* within the Monarchy (see the long argument in a letter to Berchtold, August 10, 1914). The letters show clearly what an extraordinary influence and power, out of all proportion to their wealth and material resources, the *Ausgleich* of 1867 gave to the Magyars, at the expense of the monarchy's Slav peoples.

The Vienna war department, especially Field Marshal Conrad himself, were extremely difficult for Tisza, and doubtless for Berchtold too, to deal with. Conrad, in the early stage of the war at any rate, was continually changing his mind about the point at which the decisive blow should be delivered. " It is no wonder that this has badly shaken confidence in our power and military leadership " (to Berchtold, August 24, 1914). Even worse, perhaps, was Conrad's secrecy. Apparently he did not keep Berchtold, Burian, or Tisza fully informed of the military situation.

Tisza was loyal to the German alliance, and absolutely set his face against the separate peace which was being talked about in the very early months of the war. It was not that he approved of Germany's policy. It was Germany's " reckless attack upon France and Russia " which had brought England into the war, and so caused Italy to hold back from the side of the Central Powers (to Berchtold, August 10, 1914). At the end of August he wrote to Burian that if the battle going on in Galicia was successful, they should persuade Germany to join in making peace on terms proportionate to the victory; if the battle ends in defeat—then " I would lay the greatest weight upon this, at once to offer the Russians and French a cheap peace ". He added, " we must in the first place have complete clearness with the Germans. Is anything known to us of their aims? To me, nothing " (to Burian, September 2, 1914).

The private letters in the collection leave a pleasant impression of a kindly and serious-minded man. He writes to assure a young officer in the field that so long as he, Tisza, has any money, the officer's wife and children will not suffer want. He seizes a moment, in a crowded visit to Vienna, to call on Czernin's family, and then to write to assure Czernin that his wife and children are well. When he retired from the premiership in June, 1917, he at once went into the active army, although over 56 years old, as commandant of a Hussar regiment to which he belonged.

The University of Bristol. R. B. Mowat.

Graf Brockdorff-Rantzau, Wanderer zwischen zwei Welten: ein Lebensbild. Von Edgar Stern-Rubarth. (Berlin: Reimar Hobbing. 1929. Pp. 171. 7 M.)

Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, " wanderer between two worlds ", should perhaps share that well-chosen title with President Hindenburg and the late Gustav Stresemann. These three stand preëminent among those who served the old monarchy and yet, while retaining aristocratic instincts and conservative opinions, proved adaptable enough to win their greatest fame as servants of the democratic republic in the days of national defeat and humiliation. Of the three, Brockdorff-Rantzau was the least known to the world at large, and perhaps the least fortunate in the rôle accorded him by history and fate. After all, Hindenburg was primarily the soldier, and a soldier can serve any régime if he still serves his country, while Stresemann had a cheerful resilience and toughness of fiber that enabled him to outlast the evil times without too much suffering. But Brockdorff-Rantzau, proud, delicate, and sensitive, stood only once in the full lime-light of publicity and that was to receive the terms of peace imposed on his fatherland by victorious foes and return a hopeless defiance. It was his tragedy, in spite of a successful public career, to be so completely of the past that though he could be useful to the newborn age he could not feel wholly himself in it.

The biographer's approach is leisurely. In true German fashion he begins with an introductory chapter on the art of biography, next sketches a dramatic picture of his hero at Versailles, and then discusses the ancestors of the Rantzaus back to the middle ages. They were an eminent race of Holsteiners, for generations servants of the Danish crown, and their fine, haughty, introspective faces (plate, p. 24) look almost like a composite picture of all aristocracy. "Proud as a Rantzau" was a Danish proverb (p. 29). The early career of their descendant was creditable but not remarkable. Count Ernst served as a career man in many subordinate diplomatic posts and during the war was somewhat sidetracked in the difficult but minor post of minister to Denmark. He seems to have filled this post with dignity and tact, but it is doubtful whether he would ever have won the attention of biographers if the revolution had not made him foreign minister. In spite of his biographer, one can not be certain that the choice was a wise one.

After a plucky but unavailing struggle to modify the peace terms in important particulars, Brockdorff-Rantzau refused to face the final fact of defeat and the necessity of subscribing to whatever the Entente might demand. He counseled passive resistance to preserve Germany's honor. But Germany, no doubt wisely, rejected his advice for the safer course of submission. He then turned his interests to the east and the world was treated to the strange spectacle of a democratic republic sending as ambassador to a communist dictatorship a count of the old régime who still cherished many traditions of royalist diplomacy. Yet the choice, however illogical, was not unsuccessful as is shown by the generally peaceful and harmonious relations which have existed of late between Germany and Russia. The count's last service was not his least.

As history and biography the book is not remarkable. It is based on private family papers as well as public documents but contains little that is not familiar in point of fact and nothing novel in interpretation. Students will be glad to have, however, an accurate summary of an important career, and the text of the count's hitherto unpublished address of defiance to the Entente which he had intended to deliver before the National Assembly (chapter X.).

The University of Michigan. P. W. SLOSSON.

The Basic Industries and Social History of Japan, 1914–1918. By USHISABURO KOBAYASHI, D.C.L., Professor of Economics in the Meiji University, Tokyo. [Economic and Social History of the World War, edited by J. T. Shotwell.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. x, 280. $3.25.)

THIS is another of the baffling monographs dealing with the economic changes in Japan during the World War, the publication of which is sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It is divided into four parts, the first three dealing respectively with agriculture, mining and metallurgy, forestries, and fisheries. The fourth, and perhaps the most useful, summarizes the measures initiated by the government during the war for the control of prices, and the mitigation of the unfortunate effects of rapid price changes upon the standard of living of the Japanese people. The amount of space occupied by the various parts differs greatly, the treatment of agriculture and sericulture being the longest and fullest, while that covering forests and fisheries is so brief as to be almost negligible.

Rice, as the principal cereal staple in the Japanese diet, receives the major attention, and as might be expected, the efforts of the government to control the price of rice are dealt with at length. Till July, 1916, the government's objective was to raise the price of rice, and after that time, to lower it. The same was true of the government's efforts to control the prices of raw silk. In the case of rice, government control was not only a failure, according to the author, but actually harmful; in the case of silk, while the objective was not attained, no serious effects resulted.

If a generalization as to the economic changes in the basic industries is made on the basis of Professor Kobayashi's study, it would take the following form: Prior to 1914, and accompanying the increase in population and wealth, the products of these industries steadily increased in quantity and price; with the outbreak of the war there was a sharp decline in prices, owing to the falling off of demand and the uncertainty of shipping; this crisis was followed by two or three years of immense stimulation, in which increases of supply and prices unprecedented both in extent and rapidity took place, followed in November and December, 1918, by a general collapse, as a result of the cessation of the war demand. The social consequences of these economic changes were, first, the movement of population from the country to the industrial cities; second, the rapid rise of the cost of living and of wages; third, the appearance of a large new-rich class in the cities and the impoverishment of the middle class, including both the salaried people and those living on fixed incomes; fourth, the growth of radicalism among the industrial population and the student class; fifth, the increase of tenantry in agriculture as a result of the multiplication of large estates and the rise in the wages of agricultural laborers.

The reviewer can not help feeling, in reading this book, that much of the statistical data included is either unnecessary or inadequately digested. For example, the author sometimes uses 10 kin as the unit in quoting prices of raw silk, sometimes the kwan, sometimes the picul. Here and there are obvious errors, as on page 5, where it is stated that between 1893 and 1912 the general price level of commodities increased 110 times, or 11,000 per cent. Again, on page 14, in speaking of the per capita consumption of rice, the figures for 1913 and 1914 and the averages for 1908–1912 and 1912–1914 are obviously in error through the misplacement of the decimal point. Again, in chapter XXIII., the statistics on cost of living and wages, on pages 268 and 271, are in conflict. The earlier table shows that wages rose faster than the cost of living, the later, just the reverse. Again in speaking of the effects of price and wage changes in agriculture upon the growth of large estates and the increase of tenantry, the figures in chapter VII. do not adequately support the conclusion the author reaches. Errors in proof reading are easy to overlook or correct, but errors of interpretation leave the reader with a sense of confusion and bafflement.

Williams College. W. W. McLaren.

The Public Finances of Post-War France. By Robert Murray Haig, Professor in the School of Business, Columbia University, with the assistance of Carl S. Shoup, Alexander Werth, and Nathalie Molodovsky. [Social and Economic Studies of Post-War France, volume I.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1929. Pp. xxviii, 463. $5.50.)

The Economic Development of Post-War France: a Survey of Production. By William F. Ogburn, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago, and William Jaffé, Assistant Professor of Economics, Northwestern University. [Same series, volume III.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1929. Pp. vii, 613. $6.00.)

These two volumes in the admirable series which Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes is editing will appeal chiefly to the specialist, although Part I. of Professor Haig's book has also a literary attractiveness which the nontechnical reader will appreciate. The difference in this respect between the two books is doubtless due to the more obvious human interest of the politics which played so large a part in the financial experiences of France, the political aspect of the situation affording a kind of connecting thread by whose aid the technical steps in the economic process may be more readily followed. There is no such connecting thread in the Ogburn-Jaffé book, but rather a succession of more or less separable studies. Intrinsically, however, the one book is as valuable as the other, and both are indispensable to the student of the economic life of France during the past decade.

Professor Haig points out in his preface the extreme difficulty which confronts the student of French finance because of the unreliability of French statistics, the gross errors which infest the documents, and the anomalies of an accounting system which the French experts themselves are not always able to explain. Allowance being made for this uncertainty, and with laborious efforts to straighten out the figures wherever possible, the book offers an informing record and discriminating exposition of one of the most remarkable of post-war financial situations. Part I., about one-third of the book, is a narrative of the development of French financial policy, beginning with a sketch of the pre-war attempts at tax reform, and continuing with the financial history of the war period, the tax reform of 1920, the connection between inflation and reconstruction, and the long political struggle which ended with the "saving" of the franc, or at least of about one-fifth of it, under the leadership of Poincaré. Part II. is concerned with the history of the public debt, including the problems presented by the foreign debt and reparations, while Part III. reviews the situation in national and local taxation and expenditure. A large amount of corroborative matter has been consigned to footnotes, and the bibliography is confined mainly to official publications and a few secondary works of special importance.

Professors Ogburn and Jaffé have had a rather more difficult task in surveying the whole range of French economic development since the war, mainly on its productive side. In Part I. they deal with such general topics as the transition from war to peace, currency disturbances and the status of capital, the character and extent of post-war production, the effects of inflation upon production and trade, and the important question of industrialization. Part II. pursues the inquiry in the special fields of coal, oil, electricity, iron and steel, textiles, chemicals, agriculture, foreign trade, and the cartel and trade combination movement. The text is supplemented by two maps and 27 charts.

The authors are cautious in their evaluations of the economic development that has taken place, and frank in their recognition of the obstacles, especially those due to traditional business methods, still to be overcome. One gathers the impression that France, in spite of all that has been accomplished, has still a long way to go before its productive life can be regarded as thoroughly modernized, and that a largely increased production for export must for some time be one of its special cares. Neither volume pays much attention to the special economic problems presented by the rehabilitation of the invaded departments, and as the narratives in general end with the year 1928, the substitution of the Young plan for the Dawes plan is, of course, beyond their scope.

New York City. WILLIAM MACDONALD.

France, a Nation of Patriots. By Carlton J. H. Hayes, Professor of History in Columbia University. [Social and Economic Studies of Post-War France, volume V.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1930. Pp. x, 487. $4.50.)

This is a very clear and logical presentation of an extremely interesting subject, "the current supreme loyalty of Frenchmen to their country". This it is which has enabled "Frenchmen to bear the chief shock of the greatest war in human history and afterwards economic shocks sufficient to ruin any country. . . . For no other modern nationality (save perhaps the English) possesses a common consciousness more deeply rooted or more stubbornly enduring than the French".

The book is a presentation and not a discussion. The author simply desires to ascertain and marshal the facts in a "strictly scientific manner neither anti-French nor pro-French", and "the author wishes to state most emphatically that whatever may appear as evidence perhaps of a menacing nationalism in France can be matched by equally incriminating evidence in the case of the United States or of Germany or of Italy. No holier than thou attitude is assumed in respect of France". This is distinctly refreshing.

An introductory chapter, The French Nationality, suggests the traditions in which the national psychology has its roots. He finds that Catholic Christianity and centralized government are perhaps the chief enduring traditions of the French nation—a judgment which will meet perhaps with more dissent from partisans than from scholars. To these he adds a double economic tradition, that of France as a country of hard working peasants and of skilled handicraftsmen. There is also a triple cultural tradition, that of France as the master of the world in manners, clothes, and cooking; that of the clear, precise French language, the tongue of diplomacy and international society; and the great tradition of literature and art which he dates from the French Academy. This would seem to be one of the few slips in the book, for surely there was great architecture and great literature in France centuries before Richelieu was born.

This national psychology with its real roots in ancient tradition has, he asserts, been "artificially pruned and trained to produce the perfect flower of supreme national loyalty". The reviewer feels that the word "artificially" is badly chosen as the adverb of this sentence.

For the training of French patriotism Mr. Hayes finds eight chief agencies: the Government and the Bureaucracy, the Educational System, the Army and Navy, the Churches, the Press, Radio and Cinema, National Societies, Symbols and Ceremonies.

Under each of these heads the staff of assistants provided by the Columbia University Council for Research has collected a mass of information which Professor Hayes has prevented from becoming tiresome by skill in arrangement and exposition.

The author has not forgotten the influences which might endanger the patriotism of France if they were unskillfully handled. Under the head of Regionalism he presents the facts in regard to the nearly 4,000,000 of Frenchmen who speak Basque, Catalan, Corsican, Breton, Flemish, or Alsatian.

In a final chapter on International Propaganda in France, he discusses the dislike of Frenchmen to have their patriotism spoken of as "nationalism". France has always been ready to assume international obligations. World-wide humanitarianism has always been a part of their patriotism. Hence it is that peace societies and private international organizations are almost as numerous as patriotic societies in France.

In his presentation of the facts under this head of Internationalism, the author seems to have omitted a very significant fact—that Paris has resumed her position of the thirteenth century as the most cosmopolitan university in the world. Of her 26,108 students, 7215 in March, 1928, were foreigners and the number of foreigners had doubled in three years. It is this remarkable afflux of students from all parts of the world, including hundreds from Germany, that France is symbolizing in the Cité Universitaire with its score of houses built or planned by the nations and through Mr. Rockefeller's generous gifts for central buildings.

When we add to the 7000 foreign students at Paris the 7500 in the fifteen provincial universities, we have an international influence which should be mentioned in the next edition of Professor Hayes's very interesting book.

Princeton University. PAUL VAN DYKE.

A History of Nationalism in the East. By HANS KOHN, translated by Margaret M. Green. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1929. Pp. xi, 476. $7.00.)

THIS book is noteworthy for clearness of statement, logical interpretation, range of ideas, absence of prejudice, and fairmindedness toward all human groups and ideas mentioned. Written in 1924 and revised in Jerusalem in 1927, the German edition appeared in 1928. Its main theme is the history of nationalism in territories from Egypt to India, with special reference to British policy and civilization, the action of revolutionary Russia, and the impact of the events of the World War. The first four of the twelve chapters survey the cultural history of Islamic and Indian countries, with special emphasis upon recent trends toward religious reform. The next two chapters contain an illuminating discussion of the relations of England and Russia to the East. The remaining chapters survey the progress and recent status of nationalism in the regions concerned from west to east, Egypt, Turkey, Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, and India. Sixteen maps in black and white illustrate political and economic facts. Twenty-six pages of bibliography, classified and briefly annotated, follow the text.

In dealing with a book which abounds in more or less novel generalizations and in summaries of little-known careers and movements, a reviewer is more than usually compelled to select and present samples rather than to criticize generally. The author regards the people of Asia and north Africa as united "in a fellowship of a common destiny". This fellowship is regarded as standing alongside two others, Continental Europe without Russia, and the Anglo-Saxon peoples. Apparently Russia is regarded implicitly as a fourth unit, or perhaps fellowship. Within the Asiatic-African fellowship, in spite of vast differences in location and history, the consciousness of a common destiny is evolving, with not merely the abandonment of religion as the guiding idea, nor merely a reconstruction of political organization, but with a "transfiguration" of the whole framework of society. This vast change is going on more rapidly and consciously than was the case with the similar process in Europe. In Europe nationalism reached a culmination during and after the World War. Its combination with capitalism has been exposed seriously to attack from the international communistic outthrust of Russia. In Asia, before the power of religion had been broken, capitalism was introduced, the peoples became stirred to nationalism, and there came up alongside these older principles the Russian "enfranchisement of the fourth estate". In the presence of all these forces the East does not desire mere imitation of western Europe and Russia, but wishes to retain the best traditions of its ancient native civilizations. In all the areas considered the Moslem civilization is a leading element, and the greater part of the book involves a study of the effect of nationalism in transforming Islam, which has been developed also by others in recent years, as by Lothrop Stoddard and Zwemer. The author explains with special clearness the internal Islamic movements of recent times, such as the Wahabis, Senussis, Babists, and the Ahmadiya, not omitting Pan-Islamism. Similarly such movements in India as the Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj, and the Anjuman-Himayet-i-Islam are described vividly.

The work of England in the Orient is outlined with much sympathy and appreciation. England is held to have succeeded not merely by historical accidents, love of gain, or desire to rule, but because she struggled in the name of civilization and stood for freedom. Even the much criticized aloofness and long-maintained feeling of superiority was advantageous, because the maintenance of a sharp and uncompromising contrast between English and Oriental ways made the English system a model for influencing the East, and the most powerful of the forces which have been creating the new Asia. As for the future, a great decisive conflict, not of necessity mainly military, is to be expected, since England is after all the champion of the white race. The writer suggests that in this struggle Russia will be allied with the peoples of the East, through her opposition to capitalism, imperialism, and the main lines of nineteenth century thought. Russia is linked with Asia by customs and mentality even more than by landscape and vast expanses. The Russian revolutionists believe that imperialism embodies its own destruction. In order to make money it must train subjected peoples; when these become educated they revolt against foreign control, and so are transformed " from the reserves of imperialism into reserves of the proletarian revolution". Nevertheless communism itself failed to make progress in the Orient, not being well adapted to historical and actual conditions.

Two quotations will indicate the writer's points of view as regards different countries. " Egyptian public opinion has set its face resolutely towards the democratic, modern transformation of the national life, though at the same time it has learned that this means a far journey and that England is less of an obstruction than the apathy and ignorance of the masses in Egypt itself" (p. 221). "Turkey marches in step with European national States. Neither Turkey nor Egypt has an inkling of the deep currents running counter to all this in India and China and resisting the attempt to force their peoples into an alien and imperfect world. These flow from a native civilisation, ancient and yet still active and vital, which neither possesses" (p. 265).

The University of Illinois. A. H. LYBYER.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Pageant of America. Volume II., *The Lure of the Frontier,* by RALPH HENRY GABRIEL. Volume XIV., *The American Stage,* by ORAL SUMNER COAD and EDWIN MIMS, JR. Volume XV., *Annals of American Sport,* by JOHN ALLEN KROUT. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1929. Pp. 327, 362, 360.)

IN previous reviews of this work, in volumes XXXII. 326–328, XXXIII. 663–664, 918–919, and XXXV. 137–138, the writer commented on the general plan, merits, and defects of the project; namely to provide a pictorial history of the United States, with an introduction for each volume, giving the general historical setting to the pictures with a text for individual pictures, showing their source, value, and significance; " a happy combination; an appeal to the eye and mind of the reader".

Some of the difficulties were pointed out, such as providing reliable pictures, authentic and contemporary as distinguished from imaginative and later productions; pictures which show the dark as well as the bright side of the progress of America; those that illustrate all sections, occupations, classes, and movements; and especially aspects of history for which either no pictures are available or which can not be successfully pictorialized; such as the evolution of ideas—political, philosophical, religious, moral, social, international, national, and sectional; racial attitudes and beliefs, and the purposes of political and economic leaders, etc. The volumes now under review constitute the last installment of this monumental undertaking. These fifteen volumes have an average of six hundred pictures and a text of sixty thousand words for each volume.

In volume II., *The Lure of the Frontier,* with the sub-title, *A Story of Race Conflicts,* Professor Gabriel has illustrated mainly the life and conquest of the Indians, and the beginnings of settlement in various sections: Kentucky, the Ohio valley, Louisiana, Texas, the Far West, California, and Alaska. The pictures illustrate the course and type of western settlement and conflict of races, through maps, plans of campaigns, forts, Indian life and customs, pioneer leaders, early settlements, such as Cincinnati, Chicago, and San Francisco, and the beginnings of industries, mining, and the fur trade.

One associates with the term frontier those aspects made famous by Professor Turner in his epoch-making article, *The Influence of the Frontier on American History*; the process of adjustment to frontier environment, forms of social organization, and particularly the development of democratic ideals and institutions and their influence on national life. This side of the frontier is but slightly portrayed, perhaps can not be adequately. It is a good illustration of the difficulties of making clear by pictures the spirit of the frontier as distinguished from its material development. There are glimpses to be obtained from the pictures and a competent teacher could point out how some of these pictures illustrate this aspect of the story. After all, this is what teachers are for, whether they use books, lectures, or pictures. The latter are well chosen for the purpose determined on. If the portrayal of the other aspect of the frontier mentioned had been the main purpose, there are other pictures that would have further illustrated the spirit of the frontier.

Volume XIV. illustrates an aspect of social history which is a part of the content of the " new history ", but to which our general historians have given but little consideration in their national histories. Here the story of our " infant stage " is seen in pictures. Then the evolution of the drama is traced chronologically east and west and on to the present era, Our Contemporary Theatre, and the New Stage Craft. Pictures of playbills, advertisements, playwrights, managers, actors, theatres—exteriors and interiors and scenes and acts. The chapters on the Frontier Theatre and the Western Circuit are particularly interesting, with many reproductions of advertisements, playbills, and other illustrations. In general, the pictures are exceedingly well chosen and the text is admirable. Nowhere can one follow the evolution of the American stage so vividly as in this volume.

Volume XV. pictures a phase of American life in which more people are probably interested than any portrayed in the other fourteen volumes of this work. The extraordinary development of American sports, and their effect on the social and physical life of the American people, is still another chapter of the " new history " which will eventually be considered as a phase of life which the historian must find space for in national history.

After an admirable introduction on sport in American life, Professor Krout traces the development of sport in pictures from pioneer beginnings, through such topics as the turf, yachting and aquatics, angling, baseball and cricket, athletic clubs, gymnasiums, football, country clubs, golf, and the great out-of-doors. Little of importance is omitted for a comprehensive understanding of this aspect of American life, as seen through pictures, though why the automobile should be omitted and the bicycle included as an agency of sport is not clear. The work as a whole is excellent. Appended to this volume is a useful bibliography covering the various volumes.

Now that the *Pageant of America* has been brought to a successful conclusion it can only be repeated that these volumes are a great addition to the literature of American history. It is an indispensable reference work which ought to be in every school, college, and public library, and in private libraries as well. It vitalizes our history, suggests new materials and new points of view, and should have a great influence on the rewriting of our history.

The University of Chicago. MARCUS WILSON JERNEGAN.

The Story of the Red Man. By FLORA WARREN SEYMOUR. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1929. Pp. xii, 421. $5.00.)

Tales of the North American Indians. Selected and Annotated by STITH THOMPSON. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1929. Pp. xxiii, 386. $6.00.)

IT has been forty years since the last battle between white man and red man was fought on American soil, and the long series of our Indian wars came to an end. During these forty years the process of social and cultural amalgamation has proceeded with increasing rapidity. The Indian will soon have become but one of the elements of our heterogeneous population, and his history as a distinct people will be over. It is this history of conflict and retreat, ending in the gradual assimilation of the blood and the customs of the conquerors, which Mrs. Seymour has sketched in *The Story of the Red Man.* It is the history of the westward expansion of the American people told from the point of view of the Indian. To a considerable extent it is military history. The desperate, spasmodic attempts of the Indians, from the days of Pontiac to the days of Geronimo and Sitting Bull, to resist the advance of the white man, are the theme of the greater part of the volume. The last chapters are devoted to the efforts of the government to educate the Indian and to bring him into harmony with our economic system.

The method of presentation is episodic and somewhat disjointed. The style is subject to startling variations. Passages of sober historical narrative, written in the approved manner of the doctor's thesis, are followed abruptly by highly romantic passages, filled with imaginary conversations and soliloquies, and written in a poetic style strongly reminiscent of the children's story book.

Mrs. Seymour is no sentimentalist. The point of view of *The Story of the Red Man* is the antithesis of that of Helen Hunt Jackson's *A Century of Dishonor.* It is difficult to write the history of a series of de-feats ending in complete conquest, without expressing some emotion of regret. Mrs. Seymour comes very close to achieving this. Her sympathies are with the Indian so long as he does not stand in the way of advancing civilization. His treachery, his cruelty—all the qualities which made him an uncomfortable neighbor to the white settler—are fully brought out. The shortcomings of the white man, and of his government, in dealing with the Indian are less strongly emphasized.

The book is obviously intended for the general reader rather than for the specialist, but the serious student will find in it much that is suggestive, and that may help to make clear the underlying reasons for the rapid disintegration of the Indian's tribal and social organization. Two points of particular importance are stressed. First, the economic dependence of the Indian upon the white man, which began as soon as he became possessed of the superior tools, and utensils, and weapons of European manufacture; and second, the racial admixture which dated from the earliest contacts of the races and proceeded with such rapidity that "Indian", in some parts of the country, soon became a term of no real biological significance.

It is fortunate that scientific ethnographical and anthropological studies began in this country before the transformation of the social life of the Indian had obliterated most of its characteristic features. A great body of knowledge has been preserved which would otherwise have been irretrievably lost. Notably, there has been gathered a collection of folklore more extensive than that pertaining to any other primitive people in the world. These tales are to be found scattered through the files of a large number of learned publications. To the general reader they are often inaccessible. Professor Thompson has sought to make them available to a larger public by reprinting a representative collection under the title—*Tales of the North American Indians.* The tales are arranged according to type and all of the important types are represented in the collection. But this volume is much more than a mere reprinting of texts. The extensive critical and bibliographical notes will give it a high rank among works of original scholarship in this field.

Cincinnati. JOSEPH C. GREEN.

Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 1497–1783. Edited by H. A. INNIS, PH.D., Associate Professor of Political Economy, University of Toronto. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1929. Pp. xxxiv, 581. $4.00.)

CANADIAN historians of the scholarly sort quite rightly gave their first attention to constitutional history. It was the matter of most originality and importance to the rest of the world and as long as dominion status and coöperative empire are interesting, the Canadian constitutional story will be so, too. Yet the task is very nearly completed, and now that

Canada has become the fifth nation of the world in international trade it is right and natural that her economic history should be systematically examined. Surprisingly little has yet been done in a scientific way. During the last ten or twelve years all the universities have been active and Professor Innis of Toronto has achieved a great deal both in writing himself and in encouraging others to investigate and report. Now, in the volume under review, he has attained two ends. By a very full provision of categorized source materials he has made a "case-book" for students in process of acquiring the method of economic history and through the scope and thoroughness of his selections he has begun the writing of Canadian economic history before 1783. I do not find that any important field has been neglected, but it should be remembered that the volume is intended to be used along with Dr. Adam Shortt's *Documents relating to Canadian Currency, Exchange and Finance during the French Period* (Ottawa, 1925).

Mr. Innis knows North American geography and has studied its influences. He is, therefore, loyal to the continental interpretation of Canadian history and his collection is important to all students of North American history. In fisheries or fur trade (sharply determined as they were by geography) and in their secondary aspects of settlement, labor, shipbuilding, agriculture, lumbering, building, mining, petty industry, and transportation, it is seldom possible to think of Canada in isolation. The dominant relations in the beginning were those with the French and British mercantilist systems and close attention is given to the economic modes and marine accompaniments of the conquest by Great Britain. In the course of it much light is shed on international and interregional politics and wars. The chief American interrelations, of course, were those involving New England and Acadia in fisheries, and New York and Quebec in the fur trade, but the West Indies can not be kept out of the picture, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as now, exchanges of techniques and commodities went on in North America in spite of international frontiers. These things are well brought out in the documents. Finally, Mr. Innis has not only a keen eye for illustrative material, but he has a knack of selecting both economically and interestingly. Of course some of his materials must be familiar, but there is hardly a page without novel matter of both intrinsic and contributory interest. It is greatly to be hoped that, as he goes on into the more complex Canadian, North American, and world economic relationship of the years after 1783, Mr. Innis will be able to keep up the high standard he has set for himself here.

Columbia University. J. BARTLET BREBNER.

Samuel Johnson, President of King's College: his Career and Writings. Edited by Herbert and Carol Schneider, with a foreword by Nicholas Murray Butler. Volume I., *Autobiography and Letters.* Volume II., *The Philosopher.* Volume III., *The Churchman.* Volume IV., *Founding King's College.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1929. Pp. xvii, 526, 603, 397, 641. $30.00 the set.)

These four volumes are of present importance for several reasons: first, they give an interpretation of the general mind of the colonists of the first half of the eighteenth century; second, they mark "an attempted revolt against the garbled and antiquated mixture of scholastic Platonism and Calvinistic theology which was still current in New England about 1700"; third, they also describe "a radical defense of revealed religion against the growing attacks of the Deists and free-thinkers"; fourth, and most important, they give an account of the founding of King's College, and of the service of its first president.

As early as the second year of the eighteenth century a suggestion for founding a college in the colony of New York was made, but it was not till the year 1746 that the first formal governmental act was passed. This act had as a preface that "a proper and ample foundation—for the regular education of youth" would "greatly tend to the welfare and reputation of the Colony". But the application of this act and the subsequent endeavors were subjected to many and diverse difficulties. The early years of the college were marked by oppositions and antagonisms, financial, personal, religious, ecclesiastical, political. The Episcopal church was most intimately associated with the foundation. The Dutch settlers were coöperative. The "Presbyterians" and the "Free-thinkers" were largely antagonistic. The most important step was taken and most constructive act done when, in 1753, Samuel Johnson was chosen president.

Samuel Johnson was one of the outstanding leaders of the whole American community in the first half of the eighteenth century. Born at Guilford, Connecticut, in 1696, he graduated at the new college at Saybrook, subsequently named Yale. He was presently made a tutor. Ordained as a Congregational minister, he came to doubt the validity of such a consecration, and subsequently went to England and took orders in the English church. Returning, he became a minister of the church in Stratford, being the only minister of his church in Connecticut. Elected in 1753 to the presidency of King's College, he continued for ten years. The death of his wife prompted his request for retirement. He returned to Stratford, dying in 1772.

The young and feeble college was indeed fortunate in its first president, as it has been fortunate in his successors. These volumes prove and illustrate that Johnson brought great qualities and elements to the office. Among these elements were devoted loyalty, broad learning for the time, a philosophic mind—shown in his philosophic writings and correspondence, respect for his ecclesiastical and other superiors, the power to command the coöperation and love of his associates, warmth of piety, force of will without stubbornness, a keen sense of justice, power as a teacher, a broad acquaintance with the leaders in the American and the English community, and general acceptableness as a citizen. The times were troublous. Mutterings of what eventuated in the Revolution were already heard. But in the midst of all antagonisms and trials, Johnson bore himself with poise, dignity, fairness, and a sense of kindness. Such in bare outline is the picture of the first president of Columbia which is presented in these weighty volumes.

The difficulties, moreover, which Johnson met in his administration of the little college are well set forth in these pages. Under date of 1755 he writes to the Bishop of London, " Our infant college goes on very heavily —partly by reason of the difficulties of the times, we being here in a state of war, and partly through the violent opposition that continues to be made to it by an importunate clamorous faction ". In 1759 it is said that the plan of education " is as yet but in its first rudiments and very imperfect. Our great difficulty is that our grammar schools are miserable, so that we are obliged to admit them [students] very raw ". Yet in all these difficulties, personal and institutional, it is evident that the highest purposes prevailed, and that a solid curriculum was installed. One of his friends writes, " To enable the students to compare the ancient and modern systems, it will be useful and entertaining to read Aristotle *De Mundo,* Seneca's *Natural Questions,* and some physical essays in Plutarch. The study of politics may be entered upon in Aristotle, Xenophon of the Spartan and Athenian Republics, and in the best historians and orators; Thucydides, Polybius, Demosthenes, Caesar, Tacitus, Etc. Disputations in the syllogistic form are almost essential to a college education." Yet while the intellectual purpose is high and firmly held, the same associate writes that " the end of education is to make men virtuous as well as learned " and that the aim is not the " forming " of " divines but Christians ".

These volumes prove that the first president of what was to become a leading university of America, and indeed of the world, is among the great presidents. Samuel Johnson takes his place with Dunster of Harvard, with Abraham Pierson of Yale, with Manning of Brown, with Eleazor Wheelock of Dartmouth, and with the other founders and presidents of the colleges established before the Revolution. The volumes have unique value as academic history and biography.

Western Reserve University. CHARLES F. THWING.

The Virginia Plutarch. By PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE, LL.B., LL.D. Volume I., *The Colonial and Revolutionary Eras.* Volume II., *The National Era.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1929. Pp. x, 327, 353. $9.00.)

THE distinguished author of the *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* and other significant books, intended chiefly for scholarly readers, has, in his latest work, challenged the attention of the general public. Essentially undocumented and without bibliographical paraphernalia, *The Virginia Plutarch,* happily named and beautifully illustrated, has been received with distinct popular favor. Its two volumes do not contain fifty sketches, to match those of its prototype, but they do contain thirty-six, dealing with thirty-three persons, of whom Washington appears three times at various stages in his career, and Jefferson twice. No one could be expected to write authoritatively and with originality about so many distinguished characters, ranging from Powhatan and Pocahontas to Woodrow Wilson and Walter Reed. Nor has Dr. Bruce attempted to do this. Rather has he brought together brief accounts of the activities of those Virginians who have seemed to him most significant and about whom, in most cases, the major facts are well known. He has endeavored to give, not a detached series of biographies, but a continuous narrative of deeds, thus retelling much of the history of Virginia and the nation, and showing what large part the sons of the Old Dominion have played in American life.

The notables whose activities are here recorded include two Indians, six colonial governors, eight soldiers, twelve statesmen—including six Presidents and a Chief Justice—a plantation magnate, a rebel, two scientists, and one literary man. Birth in Virginia has not been made an invariable requirement for admission into this heroic band, for the colonial governors and Poe were not natives. Of the others, born in the colony or commonwealth, not all were closely identified with its life. One ordinarily thinks of John Sevier as a Tennesseean and of Sam Houston as a Texan; while Woodrow Wilson, who lived in Virginia less than four years, eludes geographical classification. The author may have included the latter out of deference to local sentiment, and doubtless included the founders of other commonwealths because they exemplify the far-reaching influence of the sons of the state. The glorification of Virginia was obviously one of the author's major objectives, and his grouping of these distinguished names is impressive. It might be argued, however, that he has weakened his case by claiming men to whom other states have a better right and whom Virginia could easily spare from her illustrious roster.

Dr. Bruce has none of the spirit of the "debunker" and deals gently with the foibles of the great. He has an obvious partiality for the well-born and emphasizes, particularly in the earlier sketches, the aristocratic Virginia tradition of which, both as a scholar and a man, he is himself a notable exemplar. He does not hold against John Smith, however, the latter's birth "in a plain walk of life", but is an admirer of the doughty Captain, whose account of his own adventures he accepts uncritically. He is regretful of the "plebeian shadow" which fell upon the career and lingered about the memory of Sir George Yeardley, but finds Berkeley too much of an aristocrat. With the exception of the admirable sketch of the second William Byrd, that of the rebel Bacon is, in our opinion, the best in the entire collection. Patrick Henry we should expect the author to dislike, but he treats him very kindly, not referring to the latest and less favorable version of the Tarquin and Caesar speech. Washington is the great hero, but Dr. Bruce is appreciative of the quondam "rough-neck", Daniel Morgan, of the political antipodes, Jefferson and Marshall, of Madison, "the delicate bookworm of Montpelier", of the faithful if unspectacular Monroe, of the personally capricious John Randolph of Roanoke, who was true to the state rights faith, of John Tyler, who he feels was unjustly censured. Inevitably he praises Lee, Jackson, and J. E. B. Stuart about whom romance will ever linger. The sketch of Woodrow Wilson, however, is so unsympathetic and so out of character with the rest of the book that we wish it had been omitted altogether. With this exception, the dignified portraits in this gallery have been painted with kindly hand. The glory which they reflect upon Virginia few will desire to dim.

The Dictionary of American Biography. DUMAS MALONE.

The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740–1790. By WESLEY M. GEWEHR. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1930. Pp. viii, 292. $4.00.)

ONLY a comparatively small percentage of the population of the colonies were members of churches, and until the third decade of the eighteenth century the lower classes were little influenced by organized religion. On the other hand, among the nations of western Europe where state churches commonly existed, church membership came about as a matter of course. In Virginia, at the opening of the eighteenth century not more than one in twenty were members of the church, and a smaller proportion in the other Southern colonies. Thus in America it became necessary to develop a new technique to win people to the church, and this new method was revivalism. The first great religious movement which made any serious impression upon the common people of the American colonies was that known as the Great Awakening, which marks the beginning of an aggressive American Christianity.

We are accustomed to consider the Great Awakening as largely a New England revival, with an extension into the middle colonies. We think of it as centering about Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield and having to do chiefly with Congregationalism and Presbyterianism. Mr. Gewehr's careful study follows the extension of the Great Awakening from New England and New Jersey into Virginia and North Carolina and traces its influence in relation to the rapid southern expansion of Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists. This is the first comprehensive treatment of any religious movement in the Southern colonies, and illuminates a little-known period in the social history of America.

The Virginia awakening had three distinct phases. First, the Presbyterian revival, which began about 1740, without ministerial leadership, but was continued and consolidated by ministers sent into Virginia by the New Side synod of New York. It reached its culmination under the able and eloquent Samuel Davies, 1747–1759. This phase of the movement is generally known as the Hanover revival, since it centered in Hanover County, and Hanover presbytery (organized 1755) became the mother of Southern Presbyterianism.

The second phase of the Southern awakening is the Baptist revival which began just as the Presbyterian movement was waning. Its early leaders were Shubel Stearns and Daniel Marshall, Separate Baptist preachers from New England, who migrated with their families to northwestern North Carolina (1755) and settled on Sandy Creek. They and their helpers were soon evangelizing throughout a wide region, reaching a class of people hitherto largely neglected. The Sandy Creek church grew within a short time from sixteen to more than six hundred members, and Sandy Creek Association became the mother of a multitude of Southern Baptist churches and associations.

The Methodist movement constitutes a third phase of the Virginia awakening. This followed the Baptist revival and continued with little interruption through the Revolution. Its leaders were Devereaux Jarratt, an Established church minister of strong evangelical leanings, and the Methodist itinerants sent to America by John Wesley. Each phase of the awakening affected different sections of Virginia, and every part of the colony was brought at one time or another under its influence.

Aside from its strictly religious influences the Southern awakening had far-reaching social and political consequences. Virginia could not have played her part in the American Revolution if the revival had not greatly strengthened the dissenting bodies, and it is well known that the Revolution was best supported in those regions where the revival was the most sweeping. The revival likewise created the forces which were chiefly responsible for winning the struggle for the separation of church and state. By 1785 Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists were the dominant religious factors in the commonwealth of Virginia and made possible the passage of Thomas Jefferson's "Bill for the Establishment of Religious Freedom". Out of the revival also came educational and humanitarian influences which profoundly affected not only Virginia but the whole South.

The University of Chicago. W. W. SWEET.

A History of American Magazines, 1741–1850. By FRANK LUTHER MOTT, Director of the School of Journalism, University of Iowa. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1930. Pp. xviii, 848. $10.00.)

THIS much needed volume presents a greater amount of material about the magazines of America than has ever before been brought together between the covers of one book. Not only does the author accomplish his avowed purpose of presenting "a more trustworthy view of the course of periodical development in America than any attempted in the more or less fragmentary studies hitherto available", but he supplies in the course of that presentation innumerable details about the editing, the management, the distribution, and the contents of the magazines treated. Moreover, he so directs and orders the mass of information his patient research has brought forth that the general reader will find the account delightfully readable, and be in no way overwhelmed by its wealth of detail.

The book is divided into three well proportioned parts: the Period of Beginnings, 1741–1794; the Period of Nationalism, 1794–1825; and the Period of Expansion, 1825–1850. In each of these parts the main story of the growth of periodicals is given first, with only sufficient attention to individual publications to show their place in the general development. This connected narrative is followed immediately by a supplement in which representative magazines of the period are separately treated in discriminating sketches. A chronological list of the almost six hundred periodicals mentioned in the course of the history and an excellent index make the stores of material contained in the book readily accessible. A second volume carrying the story forward to the present time is in preparation.

The writer considers almost all types of serial publications that may fairly be called magazines, the editors, publishers, and outstanding contributors who made them what they were, and the audiences to which they were directed. Diversity of classification adds to the interest of the treatment and enables a reader to pursue throughout the three parts the development of weekly, monthly, or quarterly offerings, of general magazines and those directed to special classes, of religious, scientific, and literary periodicals, and of regional publications that divulge the ambitions of different geographical areas. Especially notable is the consideration given to religious magazines. In compiling this comprehensive volume the author has increased its usefulness by keeping constantly in mind the importance of magazines as repositories of democratic literature, their value as historical sources, and their influence in building up a reading public in America. As a result the work has much to report on such varied subjects as literary, dramatic, and musical criticism, the contemporary reputation of a writer, payment of contributors, postal regulations, the first appearance of an important poem, essay, or story, prizes, subscription rates, engravings, and other forms of illustration. Since it is inevitable that some errors should creep into a volume made up of so vast an amount of detail, it may not be ungracious to point out that the girl operatives who wrote for the *Lowell Offering* were employed in cotton, not woolen, mills, and that Harriet Farley, not Harriet Hanson, was its chief editor.

Wellesley College. BERTHA-MONICA STEARNS.

Commonwealth History of Massachusetts. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LITT.D., LL.D., Professor Emeritus of Government, Harvard University. Volume IV., *Nineteenth Century Massachusetts, 1820–1889.* (New York: States History Company. 1930. Pp. xiv, 626. $9.50.)

THIS is the fourth of the five volumes of the coöperative history of Massachusetts edited by Albert Bushnell Hart. Although designated as *Nineteenth Century Massachusetts* covering the years from 1820 to 1889, one chapter comes down to 1917, another to 1929, and a third to 1930. Henry Greenleaf writes two chapters, but the remaining eighteen chapters are the product of as many different pens. Five chapters deal with constitution and political developments. Four chapters discuss the Civil War as it affected Massachusetts. The remainder cover separate topics, such as Immigration, Education, Literature, Art, Reforms, Antislavery, Western Massachusetts, Agriculture, Industry and Transportation, and Clipper Ships. A few of the chapter headings seem to be rather poorly phrased, as for instance chapter VIII. on Artistic Massachusetts. Daniel Webster, a native son of New Hampshire, is the only individual deemed worthy of a separate treatment, which is excellent.

The history of the nineteenth century for any state is a difficult period to organize and to write. The excellent select bibliographies at the end of each chapter show the superabundance of source materials which have to be digested and utilized. A serious handicap in writing the history of this state during the seventy years prior to 1889 lies in the fact that no pioneer trail-blazer has assembled the kaleidoscopic subject matter included in this volume. As a result there is less unity and continuity than in the three previous volumes. One sees what happens when the raw materials of a relatively unworked period are organized and interpreted by two lawyers, three historians, two college professors of English, a director of immigration, two editors, an author, an architect, a teacher of government, a librarian, a commissioner of agriculture, a geographer, a congressman, and a state senator. It is quite apparent that they do not have equal skill in arrangement, expression, and explanation. As a result, despite the editor's efforts to harmonize the presentation, there is considerable unevenness in treatment, which was not so noticeable in the earlier portions of the work. Perhaps the best written chapters in the volume are those by John Macy on Massachusetts Literature in the Nineteenth Century, Edward Everett Hale on Religious and Social Reforms, Oswald Garrison Villard on the Antislavery Crisis in Massachusetts, and Samuel Eliot Morison on Clipper Ships.

Taking the volume as a whole, however, it is a creditable piece of work and gives to the nineteenth century the importance it deserves. One wonders at the omission, or meager treatment, of certain topics like the growth of towns, cities, higher education, libraries, museums, theaters, etc. No doubt they will be covered in the final volume. The earlier governors seem to be pretty much neglected. The fifty illustrations are chosen with discrimination and add greatly to the attractiveness of the book. The publishers are to be congratulated on its typography and general appearance.

The University of the State of New York. A. C. Flick.

The Generalship of Ulysses S. Grant. By Colonel J. F. C. Fuller. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1929. Pp. xxiv, 452. $5.00.)

The object of this book "has been to examine what Grant accomplished as a soldier; to show that . . . he has not been fully appreciated"; and to "find in his honesty and in his vision our direction towards creating a happier and less turbulent world". It is, in fact, a soldier's defense of war and in this defense so much dust of controversy is raised, that the book loses much of the real value it should have had. Grant is so eternally right as to seem almost supernatural and only fails because of the shortcomings of some subordinate rather than or because of any skill his opponent may have possessed. It makes out too good a case for Grant. Grant's own attitude was quite the contrary. He was usually thoughtful and considerate of others, the most glaring exception being his ruthless treatment of Thomas before the battle of Nashville and his subsequent reluctance to admit his error. Moreover, we can not agree with the author's interpretation of the social and economic background of the war, which is demonstrably superficial.

Colonel Fuller considers that "The 1864–1865 campaign in Virginia was the first of modern campaigns; it initiated a tactical epoch. . . . It was a campaign of bullets . . . which created the trench and the rifle-pit". Having no inhibitions or preconceived ideas as to how war should be waged, Grant applied common sense to the problems that he faced. His outstanding characteristics were a strong, but intelligently directed will, and a firm character. But in this campaign Grant met his equal. Only overwhelming superiority enabled him to reach Richmond. After his disastrous repulse at Cold Harbor, Grant's move across the James River is the best evidence of his military genius and tenacity of purpose, and, but for the masterly defense of Beauregard, he might have taken Petersburg and forced Lee off to the westward or to defend Richmond at a great disadvantage. Had the author consulted *Lee's Dispatches*, edited by Dr. D. S. Freeman, he would have learned that Lee was not "completely out-generaled" (pp. 297, 289) and in blissful ignorance of the move. Lee erred in not moving more promptly, but he was not oblivious to what was happening. To say that "Grant pushed Lee back" to Richmond (p. 364) is at least unique.

The author thinks Lee "somewhat parochial"; "an indifferent general-in-chief [who] had no clear-cut plan of campaign [and whose] strategy . . . was not of the type which could win the war". "Grant understood the meaning of grand strategy [the relationship of policy and war]; Lee did not." These remarks ignore the fact that until nearly the end Lee was never "General-in-Chief", but only commanded an army. Because Davis had no clear policy, no strategic plan with which to ruin his opponent, Lee, perforce, could not control and direct the armies of the Confederacy as a unit without the authority of position or the aid that a definite policy would have given him.

Beginning with a brief account of Grant's early career, the author describes Grant's early participation in the war and his steady development. These early experiences trained him for what was to come afterwards, for ". . . at Salt River, Grant learned fortitude; at Belmont, the necessity of reserves; at Fort Donelson, the power of pugnacity; at Shiloh, the terror of surprise . . ." until at Vicksburg he stood forth the master threatening "his enemy's base of operations" and striking "at the rear or failing the rear, at a flank . . .". At Shiloh, the author admits, without reservation, that Grant was surprised, but rather speciously places the blame on Sherman. The account of the Vicksburg campaign makes no allowance whatever for the reality of the luckless and uninspiring Confederate leadership. Pemberton never divined Grant's intentions after he crossed the Mississippi below Vicksburg, his only idea being to get back into the city.

The comments on individuals are often trenchant and dogmatic. According to Colonel Fuller, Grant was "a far abler strategist than Sherman" and "to compare . . . [their] strategy . . . is really fatuous"; Sheridan "a good tactician was no strategist"; Meade blundered frequently; Thomas, though "perfectly balanced" and "one of the ablest tacticians of the war", was a man whose "generalship . . . except in battle was beneath contempt" and who "as an independent commander . . . was an impossible subordinate"; Halleck is "a tactless ass" whose "removal . . . was . . . the Crowning Mercy of the war"; W. F. Smith, "an erudite soldier, blinded by book learning, wrecked the profoundest strategy" at Petersburg.

The author has used the conventional sources and secondary works, main dependence being on the *Official Records*, the *Papers of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts*, Badeau's *Grant*, and Grant's *Memoirs*. For some reason, frequently secondary works are cited when primary sources could have been given. Too often important statements have no citation at all. The maps are entirely adequate and there is a bibliography of works consulted. In spite of its faults in emphasis and its one-sided treatment of Grant and his military career, this is a stimulating book.

Great Neck, Long Island. THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

The Life and Times of Charles Follen McKim. By Charles Moore. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company. 1929. Pp. xii, 356. $6.00.)

HERE is a puzzle: Charles Follen McKim, with slight facility as a draftsman, no taste for engineering and little skill in planning, yet ranks unquestionably as one of the greatest of modern American architects. To find the answer, one must follow his life with care, for his biographer, Charles Moore, nowhere gives it away. Only occasional bits of comment serve as clue, and only scattered passages in McKim's own letters show the secret substance of the man, which made him a leader among artists.

The picture develops slowly. A Quaker mother and a father whose life was given largely to the negro's cause; a quiet family life with no æsthetic emphasis; a year at Harvard in the scientific school, notable chiefly for success in baseball. Then a detail to be remembered, he must and would go to Paris, to the École des Beaux Arts, though just why seemed clear to no one but himself. So go he did, with the consent of his puzzled parents, and spent three years there, till the Franco-Prussian War drove him home again. But once in Paris, he had little liking for the school; skating, ball, gymnastics, were his enthusiasms. One imagines he learned little at the atelier, and throughout his life there is no evidence that drawing was any pleasure to him. There are no mentions of sketching trips; the only work of his hands used to illustrate his biography is a few quite rough suggestions of preliminary plans and elevations. On the other hand, his love of sport was, to the last, intense. Toward the end, he writes from Scotland, " Our bag (six guns) for the first week was 1164 grouse, with uncounted hares! "

One would be tempted to write him down a pleasant gentleman, fond of sport, social though somewhat shy. In his office he should be the " business-getter " of the firm, his friendships with the wealthy, of value to him in this rôle. But the actual designing we would imagine best left to his brilliant partner Stanford White, and to the gifted young men who filled his office—the list an honor roll of eastern architects. One might suspect his influence in a drafting room harmful on the whole, rather than helpful; for his invariable impulse when confronted with an architectural problem seems to have been to seek some monument of the past to fit his case. The Boston Library, we are told, was inspired by the Colosseum, though it turned out much closer to the Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève; the Pennsylvania Station in New York was the offspring of the colonnades of St. Peter's and the bank of England, grafted to a Roman Bath. When asked to design a general plan for Radcliffe College he wrote to Mrs. Whitman, " Please turn to Raphael's Marriage of the Virgin, and let me know if the little temple in the background does not appeal to your imagination as an appropriate theme for a library for a Radcliffe girl and worthy of becoming a central feature in her existence ".

But to redeem this, there were two qualities, predominant to his intimates, less evident to the world which did not know him personally. First, a profound appreciation and almost religious veneration of beauty. He saw it and worshipped it in monuments of the past, he saw it no less in the work of his fellows. Collaboration with painters and sculptors or with other architects marks his work to an extraordinary degree. The sculptor St. Gaudens, and sometimes Burnham, the architect, seem almost members of the firm. Possibly, had he been more creative in his own right, he would have worked less perfectly with other men. Second, an inexorable faith in his own standards that never wearied and, in the end, moved mountains—such as Pierpont Morgan, Theodore Roosevelt, and even Speaker Cannon.

At the turn of the century, American taste had no need to be stimulated. The designers in McKim's office could supply unlimited exuberance. McKim supplied the bridle, a rarely fine, if somewhat cold, discrimination. Probably no detail left the office that ever could be called "bad taste", certainly none that had not been studied to the last degree. Henry Bacon says of McKim, "Time and money meant nothing to him—even the actual work in stone and other materials would be subject to alterations, for, with him, the finished product was the only thing considered". What chance had a client to stand against such fanaticism?

Yet the goal of his desire was neither any great building nor the sum of all the masterpieces that he built. His life's guide was a creed that architecture should be classic, such work as he imagined the Romans to have built—more nearly the White City of Chicago's Fair than the gaudiness of the real Caesars. His ultimate aim was that America should materialize the architecture of his dreams. Thence grew the Academy in Rome.

Rome and Greece alone seemed to him proper inspiration for young America, the rest of Europe almost a waste of students' time. "It is to be hoped", he wrote, "that the professional schools of Architecture will consent to limit their scholarship men to the condition of the pursuit of their work abroad under the guidance of a competent instructor, making Rome headquarters *until their money gives out*." (Italics ours.)

Fundamentally his life was that of an evangelist. With unswerving conviction and rare persuasiveness, he preached the Academy in Rome, his Temple in his Holy Land. Such is the picture that gradually evolves in Moore's biography. It is a picture never strongly illuminated by the author, but conveyed on that account, perhaps, with the greater sense of truth. It leaves to the reader the pleasure of discovery, the growing acquaintance with the sensitive soul of a gentle Jesuit of beauty.

The Library of Congress. LEICESTER B. HOLLAND.

Washington, Lincoln, Wilson, Three War Statesmen. By JOHN McAULEY PALMER, Brigadier General, U. S. Army (retired), with an Introduction by General John J. Pershing. (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1930. Pp. xiv, 417. $5.00.)

GENERAL PALMER's title is that of a book still unwritten; the present volume is an historical argument in favor of universal military service—written in the popularized style of the new biography. Its main contribution is a hitherto unknown paper of Washington's: *Sentiments on a Peace Establishment,* written in 1783 in response to a request from Congress for his recommendations. He classed these under four heads: 1. "A regular and standing force." 2. "A well organized Militia, upon a Plan that will pervade all the States." 3. Arsenals, with arms and equipment for 90,000 men. 4. Military Academies, particularly for Artillery and Engineers. Before going further, Washington suggests that the first funds available might best be applied to building a navy.

The regular force would consist of 2631 officers and men: one regiment of artillery and four of infantry. Two of the latter would be stationed in posts over against the Canadian frontier; a third in the Ohio country, guarding the routes to the Lakes, with a strong outpost on the Mississippi; a fourth along the Indian frontier west of the Carolinas. The entire artillery would be stationed at West Point, "the Key to America". The strength of the British forces in Canada he points out as the main military danger, while the security of the Hudson-Champlain line must be the essential point of strategical policy: the loss of it "would effect an entire separation of the States on each side". With respect to pay, there must be "no deception or mistake"; "Soldiers should not be inlisted for *less* than three years"; "Rum should compose no part of a Soldier's ration"; and a strong plea is made for promotion by merit, not seniority.

As to the militia, Washington affirms categorically the obligation to universal service; "and consequently, the Citizens of America . . . from 18 to 50 years of age should be borne on the Militia Rolls, provided with uniform Arms; . . . and regularly trained and mustered . . .". But as "such a Multitude of people" could not make good soldiers they should be considered only "a *dernier resort*". "The Van and flower of the American forces" should be made up of men from 18 to 25—formed "on the best possible establishment". As an alternative to this latter category of state forces, he suggests selecting a small proportion of the younger men to form "a kind of Continental Militia"—a far smaller body, organized like the Continental army.

The committee is referred to Baron von Steuben for advice upon military academies, but Washington contributes a pointed reminder: "I cannot conclude without repeating the necessity of the proposed Institution unless we intend to let the Science become extinct, and to depend entirely upon the Foreigners for their friendly aid, if ever we should again be involved in Hostility. For it must be understood, that a Corps of able Engineers and expert Artillerists cannot be raised in a day, nor made such by any exertions, in the same time, which it would take to form an excellent body of Infantry from a well regulated Militia." This very definite conclusion is fatal to General Palmer's whole thesis; he brushes it aside in a curt footnote implying that in this matter Washington was uninformed and mistaken. For a similar reason he brushes aside Washington's regular army: "had there been no Indian problem there would have been no regular army at all in Washington's Military Policy." Washington himself stated directly the contrary, and the regular and standing force stood first on his list of four essentials.

A year later Von Steuben presented a plan for a military establishment; the text, unfortunately, is not offered us. He too provided a dual system: a standing force plus militia; but he had no use for the excessive cost or the multitude of people involved in universal service. He proposed instead of state organizations a single Continental force, only 21,000 men in all, to be brought up to 42,000 on full mobilization. To this plan, different as it was, Washington gave his full approval: "Mine . . . was a hasty production, the consequence of a sudden call and little time for arrangement; yours of mature thought and better digestion. At the same time that I limited the propriety of a Continental Militia, I glided almost insensibly into what I thought *would*, rather than what I thought *ought* to be, a proper peace establishment for this country."

Congress, as the author records, disregarded the one plan and the other; and washed its hands of the problem by voting the unregulated state militia, with plenty of rum but no training, which in 1808 reached a total of 674,000—quite unable in 1812 to defeat the 4000 real soldiers in Canada. This grotesque failure discredited the idea of militia of any kind, and in 1820 turned the Federal government to that of an expansible regular army.

The author's case is that this policy was the cause of all our later military difficulties: had the Steuben plan been carried through, there would have been no War of 1812, and the issue of secession could never have arisen. This venturing among hypothetical suppositions occupies the bulk of the book; it becomes the more unreal because of the inverted professional spirit with which the author turns upon the long-suffering Regular army. The only distinguishable feature in the American Army of the People he offers us is that not only troops but officers as well are to be without serious professional training. For the Regular officer "the chief professional mission in time of peace would be to seek out and develop native leaders like Washington and Greene and Andrew Jackson and Forrest and Logan. For in a correct military organization the gift of leadership can be tested and appraised in time of peace. . . . Leaders like poets are born not made".

Armed with these legions of nature's military noblemen America would have fulfilled her historic mission—without fighting. "Furthermore, if the English speaking democracies had been in a 'respectably defensive posture' continuously since 1870, it would have been politically impossible to develop and maintain autocratic militarism even in Germany. . . . The result must have been a gradual return to the liberal political ideas of 1848."

In the end, however, the author casts off Von Steuben and returns to his old love, compulsory service—and the final tragedy in his drama is the "unscientific theory" which led Wilson to include reduction of armaments in the League Covenant. We are offered the text of Article VIII. "as Washington would have amended it"; and discover a hearty recommendation of "non-military" conscription. Returning home with this Gargantuan infant in olive drab upon his knee, Wilson would have found the Senate waiting at Hoboken to welcome him:

We are now prepared to understand the principal reason for Woodrow Wilson's tragic failure to achieve his high ideal as a world statesman. . . . Had he understood these things, could he have failed to lead the America of Washington and Lincoln to the Council Table of Mankind?

Windsor, Vermont. T. H. Thomas.

The Labor Injunction. By Felix Frankfurter and Nathan Greene. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. 343. $5.00.)

Professor Frankfurter and Mr. Nathan Greene of the New York Bar have put into 228 pages the most comprehensive history of the Labor Injunction that has yet been written. The actual text is probably not more than 100 pages, since the footnotes, in somewhat smaller print, comprise about one-half of the book and not only verify and illustrate the text but give an impressive demonstration of the breadth and depth of the research back of the narrative. To the book they have added nine appendixes, bringing the volume in all to 310 pages, to which they have added a careful and comprehensive index.

The scheme of the book is to give an account of the labor injunction as it actually works. To this end the history and growth of the jurisdiction is traced; the rules of procedure which cover the granting of injunctions are analyzed; and the procedure for enforcement is described. The authors have then collected into one place a history of the legislative efforts to limit the use of injunctions in labor disputes culminating in the substitute bill prepared by the Senate judiciary committee, to which had been referred the so-called Shipstead Bill, which was introduced for the purpose of limiting equitable jurisdiction in these matters largely to conform to the idea and views of Mr. Furuseth, president of the International Seaman's Union. The subcommittee of the Senate committee on the judiciary, after extensive hearings, in which it took more than 700 pages of testimony from labor leaders, lawyers, trade unionists, and employers, introduced its substitute and to this Mr. Frankfurter and Mr. Greene give their earnest and convinced support. The book, therefore, has the double value of a complete historical survey by scholarly lawyers, and a constructive program centered around an actually pending measure for the relief of some of the ills which have grown up as courts of equity have extended their ancient jurisdiction to cover the new phenomena of conflict in the industrial field.

The temper of this book is admirable. It intervenes in a highly contentious field but is not discolored by the heat of partisans at either extreme. Indeed, these authors seem to have given us a fine model for what is just on the eve of becoming a new technic in the study of law from the social point of view. Whether the law in question be an act of legislation or an amplification of an ancient jurisdiction to cover a new situation, the primary question must be, "Will it work?" The answer to this question does not lie in mere statistics of effectiveness of application, but rather in an examination of the social consequences of the operation of the law, for it must never be forgotten that law in the juridical sense and law in the mathematical sense are very different things. Numbers always behave in the same way. When the same numbers are added or multiplied, the results are always identical, but when any formula is applied to the action of human beings, the results are predictable, if at all, only after taking into account the limitless possibilities of human behavior in response to stimuli which vary with economic conditions, social habits, religious beliefs, and racial inheritances. Abstraction is, therefore, the necessary atmosphere of the mathematician, while it is fatal to the thought of the political or legal philosopher.

As a consequence, our great universities are now setting up institutes of human relations, institutes of law, and other special schools, the object of which is to subject the formal rules of law to the test of their results in human happiness, contentment, and welfare. Such a test may not be final, that is to say, there may be salutary rules of law, which, for the time being, are so at variance with the public will that they produce more friction than is justified by their results, and a part of the modern method of studying law is to discover, not only what is basically salutary, but the rate of speed at which such rules can be applied and the method by which their growth can be stimulated. This approach recognizes, therefore, that growth is the process by which legal progress is to be made and that a relatively imperfect law, which has been engendered as conditions have changed, is likely to be far better than a perfect law arbitrarily enacted by a wise few to control a slow-minded many.

Such reflections as these find illustration in the history of the labor injunction. The growth of industrialism overtook both employer and employee, and both were surprised by consequences which they had not foreseen and often did not realize until they had become deep-seated and almost incorrigible. Industrialized labor found that the exactions of the industrial system were practically enslaving. The industrial employer found that the fierceness of the competitive system into which his products were poured required him to treat men and machines alike and to exact the utmost in production from both. The life of the industrial worker and his family required that he should revolt. The life of industry seemed to forbid concession.

To meet the agony of our adjustment of our institutions to our progress, there seemed no agent of the public except the courts. Attempts at legislative remedies tossed the whole subject into the political arena and added to our ordinary political division an intense class consciousness which generated heat but obscured light. The relations between labor and capital became warlike, industrial contests were battles, and legislatures were mere lethal weapons in the hands, now of one, and again of another, of the militant parties. The fact is that neither labor nor capital knew what to do. A basis of industrial adjustment had to evolve and before its evolution could be, or can be completed, a vast amount of experience, observation, experiment, and perhaps suffering has to be endured.

The courts were called upon to meet one phase of this problem rather than the problem itself, and the history of the growth of the labor injunction, disfigured here and there by extreme and unwise action on the part of courts which seemed to overemphasize property and underestimate the ethical aspects of the struggle for human rights, is nevertheless on the whole fairly creditable to the law and to the judges.

Professor Frankfurter and Mr. Greene point out the insecure character of the evidence upon which preliminary injunctions in labor disputes have been granted, highly colored petitions sustained by partisan affidavits. They have pointed out, too, the sometimes destructive character of the preliminary injunction upon the rights of one party to the struggle, but the path has been a thorny one and the courts have dealt in a hard world with an obstinate and baffling new manifestation, which, if it sometimes proved too refractory for them, was always too refractory for everybody else.

It is probable that the labor injunction has played its part as a stopgap. It introduced some rules and limitations into a war. We do not know enough to say that its use has not, on the whole, been highly beneficial, but we do know enough to realize that the labor injunction itself must be limited, and, if its use is to be continued until a sounder basis of industrial adjustment is achieved, its procedure as well as its scope must be defined. Professor Frankfurter and Mr. Greene lead us to this conclusion and in their constructive suggestions argue persuasively for the measure now pending in the Senate.

Cleveland. NEWTON D. BAKER.

Machu Picchu, a Citadel of the Incas: Report of the Explorations and Excavations made in 1911, 1912 and 1915 under the auspices of Yale University and the National Geographic Society. By HIRAM BINGHAM. [Memoirs of the National Geographic Society.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. xiii, 244. $50.00.)

THIS sumptuous and carefully planned volume contains the long-awaited final report of Dr. Hiram Bingham upon the work performed, under his leadership, by the Yale University-National Geographic Society expeditions to Peru in 1911, 1912, and 1915. In many respects, or rather, in nearly all respects, the volume fully satisfies the expectations of all who have looked forward to its appearance with more than superficial curiosity.

The arrangement of the book is logical, the nine chapters being sanely devoted to a succession of tasks. Thus, chapters I. and II. take care most adequately of the reader's wish to know about the locality and surroundings of Machu Picchu, and of his natural desire to learn how that inaccessible citadel was reached in olden days. Indeed, it is not too much to say that chapter II., concerning the ancient roads to Machu Picchu from Cuzco, is certain to be valuable to any student of the mechanical side, if one may so phrase it, of the Incaic administrative system. The painstakingly constructed footways in this comparatively little-frequented corner of Inca-land compel our respect and faintly indicate what the main arteries of the Incas' empire must have been.

Chapters III. and IV. deal, respectively, with the plan and with the architecture of the citadel. Illustrated, as are all other parts of the book, with a profusion of superb photographs reproduced in collotype and with exquisitely drawn plans, these two chapters tell us all the leading facts regarding Incaic architecture, both as a whole and in detail. He who masters their contents will know all that there is to know about the art of building as practiced by the Incas and their subjects.

Chapter V., treating of the burial caves of Machu Picchu and their contents, turns upon the results obtained by Dr. George F. Eaton, osteologist of the expedition, and by Mr. E. C. Erdis, archæological engineer. In general terms it may be said that the skeletal remains obtained by them are oddly at variance with the grim and martial aspect of the citadel, for a very large proportion of the skeletons recovered were female, and a large proportion of the remainder were effeminate. From this circumstance it is, reasonably enough, concluded that Machu Picchu in its later days, at any rate, was a refuge for the terror-stricken Virgins of the Sun rather than a citadel teeming with doughty warriors intent upon defending their fatherland.

Chapters VI., VII., and VIII. take care, respectively, of artifacts of pottery, of metal, and of miscellaneous materials. All three of them are superbly planned, lavishly illustrated, and generously informative. In spite of a few naïvetés here and there, such as the remark, on page 117, that some of the early pottery representations of the human form (on the Peruvian coast) were "extremely degenerate" (instead of "obscene"), and such as the attempt to force the ceramics of Peru into the nomenclatural classification of ancient Greece, these chapters are of the highest value, both for historians and for students of culture. They give an admirable general idea of the tangible aspects of life under the later Incas. The objects here displayed are all either in the late Incaic style or else are examples of Incaic art in combination with influences derived from regions which were conquered in the later reigns. Only two artifacts, a stirrup-handle jug, and a finely wrought bronze knife, fail to adhere to this rule; they are both distinctly pre-Incaic, but explanations of their presence at Machu Picchu, other than that they indicate vast age on the part of the citadel, will readily occur to one who reflects upon the matter.

Chapter IX., in which Dr. Bingham sets forth his ideas as to the history of Machu Picchu, is the weakest in the book. As in earlier publications, he persists in identifying the place with the legendary site, Tampu Tocco, where the original Incas are said to have issued in couples from three windows in an edifice called Paccari Tampu or Dawn Tavern. His reason for doing so is the frivolous one that Machu Picchu boasts a Three-Window Temple. He gaily ignores the fact that anyone who issued from those three windows would have a dangerous drop to the terrace below, and he likewise ignores the fact that these windows were originally five in number, the windows at the ends of the row having been stopped up in order to convert them into niches.

Why Dr. Bingham has clung to an exploded theory, for which there is not an atom of serious proof, instead of going on to show the real history of the site, I can not say. As a matter of fact, Machu Picchu was, undoubtedly, one of a long series of frontier citadels built in the middle of the fifteenth century by the Inca Pachacutec to defend his eastern and northern borders from assault by the savage folk down in the Montaña, or Woodlands. When the Spaniards arrived all the soldiers were drawn off for service in other regions and the frightened Women of the Sun, together with such men as served them, took up their abode in the lofty and inaccessible citadel. Surely this true historical interpretation of the history of Machu Picchu is more interesting than, for example, any effort to reconcile the writings of Montesinos with the finely built walls of Machu Picchu.

Notwithstanding my regret that Dr. Bingham has persisted in ascribing great antiquity to a city that certainly does not antedate 1400, I gladly affirm that this book is destined to be of lasting usefulness to students of Incaic civilization, art, and history. It is, moreover, a volume of great intrinsic beauty which fully justifies the large price asked for it.

Pomfret, Connecticut. PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

SHORTER NOTICES

A History of Greece. By Cyril E. Robinson, Assistant Master at Winchester College. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1929, pp. xii, 480, $3.50.) The author states his purpose to be: "to retell the story of Greece in the light of our new knowledge" for the reading of "younger students". He implies that the "new knowledge" which he proposes to present is in large measure contained in the *Cambridge Ancient History*. Guided by his own judgment in selecting facts and interpretations where variant views and mooted facts are presented by scholars, he has on the whole been more conservative than the ablest authorities writing in this learned series.

The author writes as an impassioned humanist of the older school. To him Greece is the Greece which blooms and flowers so astonishingly in the fifth century, the Greece of Athens and Pericles. All else is oriented from that vantage point, his proportions, his disposition and emphasis, his essentially æsthetic and ethical evaluations. The history of Greece passes before us more as a tale of the birth, growth, and decline of Greek "virtus" than as the story of the living and struggling of a people, a great and amazingly talented people, but withal only human. The author is reluctant and apologetic about shadows. The burly realism of Cleon shows in his portrait too much of the muddy umber on the palette of Aristophanes, while the genteel and pious mediocrity of a Nicias is hesitatingly depicted with rosy tints borrowed from Eos.

There is in this new survey too much of Plutarch and too little of Lord Acton and Bury. Particularly in his evaluation of Athenian democracy the author appears more a contemporary of George Grote and the Reform Bill than of the Labor party and Ramsay MacDonald. The writer's predilections are honest and honestly come by. As a member of the prime minister's committee of 1917 on the position of the classical languages in the English educational scheme his outlook is as intelligible as it seems to be abiding.

The spirited epic in the classical tradition which he makes of the history of Greece is stirring, his enthusiasm is infectious. However the author also realizes that an appeal to modern youth demands that due attention be given to those newer factors in the presentation of historical processes which have to do with economic and social forces. Therefore he is at pains to incorporate the essentials of this material in his survey. In part they appear woven into the fabric of his primarily political, military, and " cultural " tale, in part they are reserved for separate sections and chapters. Uncommonly well written and ably marshaled, these portions are among the most attractive in the book, even though they appear a bit lean if compared to the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

Few specific strictures need here be made. A book which professedly summarizes already codified information should not be closely checked. To the present reviewer it would seem proper, however, that fuller attention be given in any present day synthesis of Greek history to the relations of the Ægean Age to later Greek development.

The University of Chicago. C. F. Huth.

Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt. By William Linn Westermann. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1929, pp. 69, $3.75.) Professor Westermann here publishes, in facsimile transliteration and translation, a papyrus from the Fayum recently acquired by Columbia University. It is a fragment of a royal *diagramma* regarding the collection of taxes on the sale of slaves. From two references in it to a person named Dicaearchus, Westermann infers that the *diagramma* must have been issued shortly before 197 B.C., when the only Dicaearchus known to us in Egyptian history was executed. The document reveals that Dicaearchus had been granted as a " gift " (*dorea*), first, a tax of one per cent. on all private slave sales, later, a clerical fee (*grapheion*) of one drachma on all sales of slaves by forced public auction on the part of the state. In connection with the document, Westermann discusses the *dorea*; the *diagramma* as a form of royal ordinance; the elucidation of P. Gradenwitz 1, P. Hibeh 29, and the pseudonymous letter of Aristeas to Philocrates; the history of the tax on slave sales in Ptolemaic Egypt; also slavery for debt and the slave trade under the Ptolemies. To comment upon the manner in which the study is executed would be an impertinence.

Washington University. DONALD MCFAYDEN.

Au Seuil de notre Histoire. Par Camille Jullian, de l'Académie Française. Leçons faites au Collège de France, 1905–1914. [Bibliothèque de la Revue des Cours et Conférences.] (Paris, Boivin and Company, 1930, pp. 256, 20 fr.) The nine lectures contained in this volume were delivered between 1905 and 1913. Each is, in fact, the opening address to a general course on the history of pre-Roman Gaul, and each was originally printed in the *Revue Bleue*. A list of the remaining lecture subjects treated during each session in this general course and a syllabus of a second course given each year on a more specialized topic form an interesting and highly instructive appendix to the book.

Of these nine discourses, all of which are reprinted as they were delivered, the first and second, respectively entitled La Vie et l'Étude des Monuments Français, and La Structure et le Sol de Paris, are in essence an introduction to historical method, more especially as it must be used for the earlier ages of human society, for the reconstruction of which no written documents exist. The remaining lectures treat of various periods or aspects of "prehistory", from the Early Stone Age to the Bronze Age. Being general lectures, designed to be intelligible to the educated public, they are of course not documented save in a very few instances, nor are they in any sense specialized. M. Jullian is a master of style with a vivid imagination and a gift for generalizations which are always thought provoking and often brilliant, so that his reader is carried away, even as his hearers at the Collège de France must have been, two decades ago. The doubts which on maturer reflection will arise concerning some of the author's postulates or conclusions are the same as or similar to those provoked by the early volumes of M. Jullian's classic *Histoire de la Gaule*. Does not the picture of a Ligurian nation in the Bronze Age extending from the western Mediterranean to the Baltic and speaking the same language belong to the realm of romance rather than to sober history? Has not the author in his final chapter, Les Anciens Dieux de l'Occident, reversed the true order of development when he puts the worship of Earth Mother, Sky God, and Moon Goddess in the first place and allows only secondary importance to animistic beliefs or to the worship of the dead? The assertion that Basque is the last remnant of the language once spoken in an Iberian empire (p. 184) sweeps aside the notorious uncertainty which philologists feel about that enigmatic tongue. And, when M. Jullian wishes to stress the *nation* as all-important and to minimize the importance of *race*, would he not be wiser to dispense with the Jews as an illustration of his argument? It would be difficult to find a stronger argument for nationality based on race, rather than on community of life and customs only, than that afforded by this people. If the present reviewer has ventured to voice some doubts regarding certain of

M. Jullian's propositions, he would conclude by pointing out once more that this little book is immensely stimulating and well repays careful perusal by all interested in the earliest periods of European history.

Cornell University. M. L. W. LAISTNER.

The Crusades: Iron Men and Saints. By Harold Lamb. (Garden City, Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1930, pp. xi, 368, $3.00.) This is the best popular account of the First Crusade. It is based mainly upon some of the chronicles and songs which Lamb has read carefully and he has interwoven in his narrative selections from the sources, which make it much more vivid. The illustrations are excellent. Much more might be added as to the excellence of his book for the general reader. It is pleasant to know that he is to continue his work. The scholar will find nothing new and will detect some errors in fact. A glance at the selected bibliography shows that Lamb used the best sources but not always in the best editions.

D. C. M.

History of the Byzantine Empire. By A. A. Vasiliev. Volume II., *From the Crusades to the Fall of the Empire (A.D. 1453).* [University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, number 14.] (Madison, 1929, pp. 502, $3.00.) Professor Vasiliev's second volume has followed its predecessor without delay (see *A. H. R.*, XXXIV. 307). This volume fills a long felt want in the field, for the history of Byzantium in this period has been covered by no single book. The author has entirely revised and rewritten three small monographs published in Russian in 1923–1925. In their English version they have been expanded to almost double their original size. The plan and the disposition of the new book are the same as those of the preceding volume, but the sections on literature and art are distinctly fuller and better woven into the whole fabric of the narrative than was the case in volume I. Much less is known about the writers and monuments of this time, and such information as is available is scattered through dozens of oftentimes inaccessible series and periodicals. Professor Vasiliev covers the history of the Eastern Empire from the Crusades to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.

The great value of his book lies in the fact that, unlike other recent histories of the period and the area, it is written from a Byzantine standpoint. The fortunes of the empire form the central theme, and the Latin kingdoms, the Slavic states, and Turkey are brought in where necessary. The book is all the more useful because the almost unbroken series of monographs on various emperors in the earlier period of Byzantium lapses after 1204. We have only J. Chapman's brief thesis on Michael Palaiologos and the antiquated work of Parisot on John Cantacuzene to help us out. Professor Vasiliev plants himself squarely on Constantinople as a base and brings in the history of the western European states where they have some connection with the empire.

The earlier section of the book (pp. 1–95) where he discusses the dynasty of the Comneni is less attractive, as we have here Chalandon's detailed narrative. His discussion of the complicated political situation after 1204 is excellent; the author gives a clear idea of the interplay of all the various factors which brought the Latin empire to its unlamented end. International political conjunctures important for Byzantium, such as that of 1280–1282, are well stressed. A good selected bibliography accompanies each section and an index to both volumes closes the book.

Some minor details are worth noting here. On page 21 the statement about the Paulicians is confused and incorrect as it stands; there is no reason for declaring them Manichees on the basis of the extant original documents. On page 33, note 46, a reference to Barthold's second article is desirable. Page 128, Hatzidakis's etymology of Morea seems adequate to the reviewer. Page 141, note 284, read "a Georgian Neoplatonist", not "Iberian (Gruzinian) Neoplatonic". Page 162, there should certainly be a reference to Mrs. Buckler's book on Anna Comnena.

Harvard University. ROBERT P. BLAKE.

Life in the Middle Ages. Selected, translated, and annotated by G. G. Coulton, Litt.D., Cambridge, Hon.D.Litt., Durham, F.B.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Volume IV., *Monks, Friars and Nuns.* (Cambridge, University Press, 1930, pp. xiv, 395, 10 s. 6 d.) This book is somewhat disappointing to review, because it is somewhat disappointing to read. Led on by the title, one expects to read of monks, friars, and nuns as they exemplified life in the Middle Ages but, with few exceptions, that is just what one does not find. The title, "Medieval Garner", by which this work was first known, was far more apt. There is much that is interesting, more that is bizarre, but of the ordinary daily round of life, practically nothing. It is well to know the ideas of St. Jerome and the reminiscences of Guibert of Nogent; it is well to know that some abbots were worldly and that provosts knew whether a woman had one eye or two; it is well to know that St. Lydwine was more effective at cursing than at curing; but it is better to know how most monks, friars, and nuns ate and were clothed, how and at what they toiled, what they sang and in what they read. But "we do not go . . . into the Middle Ages for the commonplace" (p. vii); and Mr. Coulton offers for our delectation the "cream of bulky and often inaccessible volumes". The cream is a bit sour. Mr. Coulton is convinced that the evil that monks do should live after them and is content that the good find its own reward. He has not made the Middle Ages attractive. Of the 121 "records", 39 are drawn from the thirteenth century, and of these, 17 come from Caesarius of Heisterbach. Odo Rigaldi's *Regestrum Visitationum,* the most intimate portrayal of monastic life in the thirteenth century, has been discreetly overlooked. But then, the *Regestrum* gives one the impression that the life of the Religious was wholesome.

Traps are always set for the reviewer of Mr. Coulton's books. One is sprung on page 95 (in small type): "Thomas à Kempis will answer all those who are inclined to wonder why monasticism was so great a power in the past; some of my other extracts are designed rather to display those limitations (it may also be said, those fundamental limitations) which explain the comparative powerlessness of the monk in modern society." And this in a volume to set forth "Life in the Middle Ages"!

Most in keeping with the general title and of definite interest are the sections on the Shadow of the Rod, Monastic Thrift (Suger), St. Bernard as Puritan, the Anatomy of Conversion, and Nunnery Discipline. Mr. Coulton is a happy translator and may be pardoned for styling Jerome's sybaritic priest a "Puffing Billy" (p. 17) but to call St. Sturm a "greedy explorer" for "avidus locorum explorator" (p. 44) is a bit unkind. There is an index which is useful after reading the book. A good deal of the material will be summarized in the third volume of the "Five Centuries of Religion" which Mr. Coulton hopes to bring out in the course of the current year.

Lehigh University. SYDNEY M. BROWN.

S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century. By Margaret R. Toynbee, Ph.D. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. LV.] (Manchester, University Press, 1929, pp. ix, 266, 14 s.) This recent addition to Franciscan hagiography is amply justified by the inclusion of much new material from the rediscovered Process of Canonization, now in course of publication by the Quaracchi Press. The author has been admirably objective in her treatment and has effectively employed every scrap of information about the career of the youthful saint. The work should not only be valuable for the history of certain phases of the medieval church, but also for the social history of the late thirteenth century. The first half of the volume, after an introduction devoted to a critical evaluation of the sources, is given to a detailed review of the life of Louis. It is remarkable that his span of twenty-three years was sufficient to connect him intimately with three different sections of Mediterranean Europe. Second son of Charles II. of the Angevin house of Naples and grandson of Charles of Anjou, the worldly brother of another royal saint, Louis passed his boyhood in the county of Provence, his youth with his two brothers as hostage in Aragon, and the few years of his young manhood as friar and bishop in Italy and France. Strangely enough but six weeks of that time were spent in Toulouse, the city which has given him his distinguishing title. The life of this prince who renounced a kingdom and accepted a bishopric to become a friar gives an interesting sidelight on the spiritual Franciscanism of the epoch. The second half of the work is devoted to the canonization process as elaborated by the Avignon popes, with the primary emphasis on that of Louis but including a comparison with thirteenth century procedure. From the point of view of style one might wish for a little more formality in the narrative with a sterner relegation of critical material to the footnotes.

The University of Louisiana. CYRIL E. SMITH.

Manuel de Diplomatique Française et Pontificale. Volume I., *Diplomatique Générale,* avec un album de 54 planches en phototypie. Par A. de Boüard, Professeur à l'École des Chartes. (Paris, Picard, 1929, pp. 397, 150 fr.) It has been long since a comprehensive work in so broad a field of diplomatics as that indicated by the foregoing title has been attempted by a single scholar. The time was surely ripe and the author's competence is beyond question. He is rather more modest than he needs to be. "Ce *Manuel*", he says, "sans être tout à fait un ouvrage de seconde main, se présente d'abord comme un nouvel essai de mise en ordre et de synthèse"; but it bears evidence not only of an easy mastery of the large and scattered literature of a complex and intricate subject but of important contributions which are the result of the author's own researches. Yet it is doubtless true that it is as a synthesis, as a comprehensive manual of the best type, that the work will prove most valuable and be most appreciated. A feature of special excellence, to which attention may be drawn, is the care and regularity with which connections are established both between ancient Roman and medieval diplomatic practice and between medieval and modern diplomatic practice. Thus the author ranges at need from Roman antiquity on the one hand to the close of the Old Régime and even to the French Revolution on the other. The work would perhaps be rendered more convenient by the addition of a formal bibliography; but the copious footnotes which regularly cite the literature of every subject as it is discussed leave little to be desired. The clear and logical arrangement of the matter and the concise and readable style are such as one is accustomed to expect in the products of recent French historical scholarship.

The present volume deals, in the main, with the generalities of the subject—with the history of the "science" of diplomatics and the principles on which it rests, with the genesis of documents, the conditions under which they were produced, the manner of their tradition to modern times, the elements of their composition, their marks of validation, etc. It is to be followed by two others, of a more detailed character, one devoted to public documents (*actes publics*) and the other to private documents (*actes privés*). The present volume is accompanied by a convenient album of facsimiles to illustrate the text, and presumably each of the succeeding volumes will likewise have its album.

Inevitably this work will take its place beside the great manuals of Giry and Bresslau as one of the comprehensive and authoritative guides which every student of documents will have at his hand. We will offer but one small criticism. The author may be excused for paying small attention to the literature of his subject in the English language, for that literature is in general not notable. Nevertheless he ought not to have overlooked, as he appears to have done, so excellent and important a work as that of R. L. Poole on the papal chancery.

C. W. D.

Geschichte der Deutschen Universitäten. Von Richard, Graf du Moulin Eckart. (Stuttgart, Ferdinand Enke, 1929, pp. viii, 473, 30 M.) This book contains brief sketches, mostly of about ten pages each, of the thirty-six universities of the German speaking world. Such institutions as Zurich, Berne, Vienna, Basle, and Gratz are included, as they are in Austria or German Switzerland, and Prague, which has such close historical ties with the universities of Germany and Austria. Strasbourg, although now under France, is also included because historically its development has been mainly under German influence. The sketches are well written and each gives the major facts in the history of the university, tells something of the great men who have been associated with it, and tries to describe its individuality and ideals.

The book is well illustrated. The views of university buildings and scenes of student life and portraits of the great men who have been connected with the development of science and learning at the German universities are impressive. One realizes the truth of a remark of Paulsen to the effect that the great men of science in Germany have been much more uniformly university professors than in England. It is stimulating to be reminded through their portraits that men like Billroth in surgery and Virchow in pathological anatomy have been connected with the University of Vienna; Bunsen, Hoff and Liebig, professors of chemistry in Heidelberg, Berlin, and Munich respectively; and Röntgen, professor of physics in Munich. The names in the humanities are equally representative: Wundt in Leipzig, Kant in Königsberg, Savigny in Halle, Melancthon and Luther in Wittenberg—these and a score of other almost equally great names have added greatly to the high reputation of the German universities. Indeed they have made that reputation. Probably no one of them in modern times has had such a distinguished roster as Berlin. Portraits in this book remind us that Schleiermacher was professor of theology there, Fichte and Hegel professors of philosophy, the two Humboldts, of science, the two Grimms, of philology and comparative literature, Mommsen, of history, and Helmholtz and Kirchoff, of physics.

The book is a very useful compendium for the intelligent reader and the student of education. It was worth while to bring together these competent sketches of German universities and German university life. It is not, however, an important contribution to history as it is not based on the sources and gives nothing new either in the way of information or interpretation. No bibliography is included and there are no footnote references to authorities. The historical introduction is very slight, as is also the brief concluding chapter in which the author rightly calls attention to the fact that the most important features of every university are its individuality and the greatness of its teachers and scholars. He also warns against the tendency to develop universities mainly as professional institutions, fully realizing that if their research and cultural ideals are neglected they will have relatively little significance in the history of civilization.

Washington. ANSON PHELPS STOKES.

A History of the Modern Church from 1500 to the Present Day. By J. W. C. Wand, M.A., Fellow, Dean, and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1930, pp. x, 314, $3.00.) Students and general readers as well will welcome this compendium of modern church history. The Dean of Oriel has an enviable art of terse, rapid expression which enables him to give a wealth of fact with a brevity of statement that is still an animated, easy, enjoyable discourse. Where else, for example, can one find so adequate an account of the Continental Reformation occupying only twenty-nine pages? Ripe experience with his subject makes it easy for him to concentrate attention on the salient facts and the personal characteristics that were significant for the movement of events. He knows church history as a story and he tells the story well.

The book is important by reason of its completeness. For the period following the Reformation we have many accounts of special episodes and of various branches, national or denominational, of the Christian faith but no such convenient and competent general conspectus bringing into one narration the story not only of European Protestantism and Catholicism but the much neglected topics of the Eastern Church and American Christianity. It is valuable also by its inclusion of educational and social movements, modern missions, and present day efforts for the reunion of churches.

It is of course possible to suggest changes that would remedy some disproportions and we may hope that as happens in Germany this text will evolve through later editions on the basis of experience in the use of it. Certain forms of statement also may be questioned, but they are relatively unimportant unless it be the wording on page 201 which seems to make the seclusion of Pius IX. in the Vatican date from 1861. The main duty is to recognize the excellence and usefulness of this interesting and scholarly book.

Lowell, Massachusetts. F. A. CHRISTIE.

Nantes au XVIIIe Siècle: l'Administration de Gérard Mellier (1709–1720–1729). Par Gaston Martin, Agrégé d'Histoire et Géographie. (Toulouse, Lion et Fils, 1928, pp. viii, 500, 35 fr.) Gérard Mellier, a native of Lyons, became treasurer general of Brittany in 1702, deputy intendant for Nantes in 1710, and mayor of Nantes in 1720. He held these offices until his death in 1729. This was the period when slaving voyages and other plantation trade were transforming Nantes from a provincial town into a great seaport. Mellier exercised strong influence on civic improvements such as the building of a new bourse, paving streets, laying out parks, erecting bridges, and constructing quays and embankments. He also improved such services as policing, fire protection, and sanitation. In telling this the author gives a detailed picture of an extraordinarily progressive French city of that day. The political skeleton of the municipality is clearly sketched, but unfortunately the delimitation of the functions of officials is left for the reader to work out.

Economic activities are of most interest to the author. The wealth of the city was founded on plantation trade, especially the slave trade. The predominance of commerce over industry and the influence of the great merchants are emphasized. Mellier was allied to the mercantile class and furthered their interests. The lion's share of the marketing of the East India Company's goods, privileges for slaving voyages, free exportation of 15,000 hogsheads of sugar per year, and many restrictions on the trade of competitors—these are some of the rights secured by Mellier which helped to build the greater Nantes.

Though the author gives us a sketch of the commerce of the city, he does not analyze trade conditions. If, for example, rum and molasses were imported, we should like to know more about it, for the importation of rum was forbidden, and molasses is generally thought to have been left in the hands of the planters. Moreover, rum and sirop do not make sugar as implied (p. 23). No attempt is made to account for the growth of sugar exports to the North; nor do we even hear that in the midst of the great slaving activity of Nantes the colonists were complaining bitterly of the scarcity of pieces of India. Few of the deeper questions of trade are dealt with. In short, the book is not a study of trade, nor is it a history of Nantes, nor a biography of Mellier, for little is given of his private life. It is essentially the history of an administration.

The sources used are largely the archives of Nantes, those of the Department of the Loire-Inférieure, and the great repositories in Paris. There are numerous minor slips in proof reading.

Western Reserve University. CLARENCE P. GOULD.

Die Politik der Grafen Aranda: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Spanisch-Englischen Weltgegensatzes im 18. Jahrhundert. Von Dr. Richard Konetzke. (Berlin, Emil Ebering, 1929, pp. 216, 8.40 M.)

Pedro Pablo Arbaca de Bolea, tenth count of Aranda and the ablest of the native Spanish statesmen of the eighteenth century, is known best for a remarkable series of domestic reforms that he accomplished in the decade that followed the end of the Seven Years' War. Among these reforms of Aranda, a friend of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, were the expulsion of the Jesuits and the limitation of the powers of the inquisition. In 1773, Charles III., seeking some solution to the strife of political parties, retired him as the Spanish ambassador at Paris, where he remained until 1787. It is from his voluminous dispatches and correspondence during those fourteen unhappy years that Dr. Konetzke has constructed this brilliant exposition of Aranda's *Politik*. Beyond a brief sketch the author does not concern himself with the important domestic reforms nor with his military career. Aranda's aims were to lessen the dependency of Spain upon France, to decrease the influence of England at Lisbon, to regain Gibraltar and Minorca, to strengthen and secure Spain's colonial empire: to regain for Spain her old *Weltstellung*. His drastic domestic reforms, designed to strengthen the position of the king, were but a necessary prelude to the reorganization and maintenance of Spain's colonial empire. He early perceived that the most dangerous rival for this colonial empire was England; and that it was the commercial and colonial disputes in the new world that would determine her position in the old. To this end he would have had Spain participate more fully in the revolt of the American colonies from England, and, probably, had Aranda been in that position of influence to which he aspired, Spain would have derived greater advantages from the success of the American Revolution. Despite the difficulties of a sometimes involved style, two of Dr. Konetzke's chapters are models of conciseness and of lucidity. The volume suffers from the lack of an index and printer's errors are numerous.

Paris. FRANK MONAGHAN.

Gibbon's Journal, to January 28th, 1763: "My Journal", I., II., and III., and "Ephemerides". With Introductory Essays by D. M. Low. (New York, W. W. Norton and Company, 1929, pp. cxvii, 261, $5.00.) On August 24, 1761, Gibbon, then an officer in the militia, decided to keep a journal of his "actions and studies". He began with his birth, and recorded events as he was able to recall them. Having reached September 10, 1761, he left off writing until March 25, 1762, when he made a new resolution and began to fill in the interval from memory; by October 16 he had brought it up to date. But he was soon neglecting it again. Thus even in the years covered by the journal we do not have a record kept from day to day. The present installment ends with the arrival of Gibbon at Paris, January 28, 1763. After that date he wrote the journal in French until he finally gave it up on leaving Rome in 1764.

Gibbon used the materials in this journal when preparing the various memoirs of his life from which Lord Sheffield compiled the *Autobiography*. What is now published, therefore, contains little that is of first rate importance. It merely reveals in greater detail the self-imposed discipline with which the historian, amid the distractions of his military career, prepared himself for his later work. The marvel is not that he occasionally drank too much and had many futile hours to regret, but rather that the uncongenial society of his fellow officers drove him to his books and that by earnest application to his profession of the moment he acquired an understanding of military technique which he later turned to good account.

The work of the editor seems on the whole to be well done. He treats happily the early love affair between Gibbon and Suzanne Curchod (later Madame Necker) and publishes the correspondence between them as an appendix. His comments on the militia indicate a lack of knowledge of the political controversy which led to its establishment in the peculiar form it took in the Seven Years' War [and are not very helpful]. Not all of the notes will assist readers. The identification of the third Duke of Grafton as "H. Walpole's correspondent", while a minor point, reveals something of the editor's acquaintance with the history of the period in which Gibbon lived. Nevertheless, the introduction, which occupies a third of the book, is perhaps the best account of the early life of the historian that we have.

Duke University. W. T. LAPRADE.

Die Französische Revolution, Napoleon und die Restauration, 1789–1848. Bearbeitet von Alfred Stern, Franz Schnabel, Oskar Walzel, Heinrich Herkner, Friedrich Luckwaldt. [Propyläen Weltgeschichte, volume VII., hrsg. von Walter Goetz, Professor an der Universität Leipzig.] (Berlin, Propyläen Verlag, 1929, pp. xxiv, 598, 34 M.) This volume in a new German historical series is written by five well-known German and German Swiss professors of history. The whole format of the book is a delight to the eye. The volume is profusely illustrated with contemporary pictures and cartoons, reproductions of famous paintings, excellent maps, and facsimiles of important original documents, and has a good analytical table of contents, a full chronological list of events, and a fine index of thirty-one pages.

As one would naturally expect, the first two sections of the volume are devoted to the French Revolution and the Napoleonic period. The authors of the two sections—even Alfred Stern, the writer of the famous *Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871*—have found it impossible to give within the limits of two hundred and forty-eight pages crowded with illustrations more than the familiar story of the course of events from 1789 to 1815. In the judgment of the reviewer, however, the author of the section on the Napoleonic period may be criticized for his selection of facts and his apportionment of emphasis. Even in a popular account he should have shifted the emphasis from the details of the military campaigns to the story of the modification of the revolutionary institutions by Napoleon and the extension of these modified institutions through the Napoleonic wars to the countries surrounding France. The volume under review fails to give the reader clear ideas about the diffusion of the Napoleonic administrative system, the extension of the code Napoleon, the widespread secularization of religious property and destruction of ecclesiastical rights and institutions, the legal gains of the idea of religious toleration, the opportunities given the middle classes of Europe for social advancement, the abolition of serfdom, the destruction of commercial barriers, or the awakening of national consciousness among the peoples of Europe.

The last three sections depart considerably from the forms and subject matter usually found in works of similar scope. The section on classicism and romanticism as European appearances, devotes too large a share of the space assigned to it to the literary, philosophic, and artistic movements in Germany. The reviewer, also, would have liked to have seen a fuller discussion of the relationship of romanticism and nationalism. The section on economic and social movements from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century gives an unusual amount of attention to the industrial revolution on the Continent and its social effects. The final section on the age of the Restoration makes some attempt to get away from the history of the separate states of Europe and to treat as a whole the absorbing story of the struggle of European conservatives against the forces of liberalism and nationalism.

The University of Wisconsin. C. P. HIGBY.

Les Relations de Société entre l'Angleterre et la France sous la Restauration (*1814–1830*). Par Margery E. Elkington, Docteur de l'Université de Paris. (Paris, Champion, 1929, pp. 208, 30 fr.) The Bourbon Restoration in France saw the beginnings of a modern parliamentary régime, the rise of liberal Catholicism, of socialism, of positivism, and of the romantic school in literature and the fine arts. Indeed no period in French history since Waterloo has been so fecund, though only recently has the importance of these fifteen years been grasped.

To this reëstimation of the place of the Restoration in modern French history Professor Baldensperger and his students in comparative literature have made valuable contributions. In this study, Miss Elkington traces the interest of the French and English in each other from the comparative hostility that marked the early years of the Restoration to the growing friendship that charactérized the close of the period. After Waterloo, when the memories of defeat were fresh, and France was occupied with British troops, the English visitors in Paris, and English ideas and books were not in favor. Gradually with the restoration of peaceful conditions and the growth of a liberal party in France, England and her free institutions were increasingly admired by the French—all this at a time when England was launched on a course that led to the Reform Bill of 1832.

In this same period of *rapprochement* (1822–1830) the rise of the romantic school in France with its enthusiasm for Scott, Byron, and the English landscape painters increased the French enthusiasm for all things English. The ideas borrowed are not as much discussed by Miss Elkington as are the circles through which these ideas and attitudes were exchanged. The flow of both visitors and ideas was rather from England to France than in the other direction. The last two chapters, however, are devoted to Frenchmen traveling across the Channel, and to the penetration of French ideas into England.

Miss Elkington studies adequately enough the exchange of political and literary ideas, but she seems unwarrantedly brief in her discussion of the industrial and agricultural influence of England on France. One wonders about the exchange of visits of factory owners and bankers, and also through what media the French learned so much about British crop management and stock breeding. In the years 1814 to 1830 France was undergoing a remarkable agricultural and industrial transformation. This is fully as significant an aspect of the period in France as is the growth of political liberalism and of literary romanticism; and, in agriculture and industry, the influence of England was quite as large.

The work is based chiefly on memoirs and published correspondence. It is supplied with a useful index.

Oberlin College. FREDERICK B. ARTZ.

From Chartism to Labourism: Historical Sketches of the English Working Class Movement. By Th. Rothstein. (New York, International Publishers, *s.d.*, pp. vi, 365, $2.50.) Theodore Rothstein was born in Russia but lived in England as a journalist from 1891 till 1920. While there he was an active member of the Social Democratic Federation and the British Socialist party, both small Marxian bodies. Since 1920 he has been engaged in Soviet work as a member of the Communist party. He now presents us with an interpretation of British labor from the point of view of the extreme left.

The book consists of four essays and an appendix. The first, The Chartist Movement, was written during the Russian Revolution of 1905 to demonstrate to the working classes, by contrasting the "moral force" and "physical force" schools of Chartism, the futility of the Menshevik policy of compromise and the advantage of Bolshevik revolutionary action. Chartist leaders and methods are, accordingly, evaluated very differently from what they are in the recent volumes of Mark Hovell and Julius West, authors for whose moderate and Fabian point of view Rothstein expresses profound contempt. The young firebrand, George Julian Harvey, is lifted into prominence and hailed as the first Bolshevik. If the Chartist masses had consistently followed Harvey, O'Connor, and the physical force group, the author is certain the history of England would have been shaped differently.

The second and third essays contain some important contributions. In the Origins of the Theory of the Class Struggle, written in 1908, he shows that Marx and Engels had precursors in England, especially James Bronterre O'Brien, to whom they must have been indebted. In the Forerunners of the International, too, the English workingmen led. George Julian Harvey with his Fraternal Democrats in the 'forties and Ernest Jones with his International Association in the 'fifties appear as exponents of proletarian internationalism long before Marx.

The last essay, written in 1924–1925, is a long condemnation of the trade unionism that has guided British Labor since the Chartist collapse. From Robert Applegarth to Ramsay MacDonald the author sees only "weak-kneed and vanity stricken successors of the great Chartists", who have demoralized the working class by adapting their movement to capitalist society instead of trying to transform it. The sole result has been to land the British proletariat in a cul-de-sac, from which only more militant methods will afford an escape.

Mr. Rothstein is certain he has administered a needed corrective, because orthodox historians, "partly owing to lack of understanding" and "partly out of deference to the interests of the ruling classes", have reduced history to "a mass of fabrications".

Stanford University. CARL F. BRAND.

A Short History of British Expansion. By James A. Williamson. Volume I., *The Old Colonial Empire.* Volume II., *The Modern Empire and Commonwealth.* (New York and London, the Macmillan Company, 1930, second edition, pp. xx, 470; xv, 315, $12.00.) Appearing under the title *A Short History of British Expansion* this is really a fairly long, complex history of the British Empire. The first edition, published in 1922, has in these two volumes been extended to include the last imperial conference. Regarded as an interpretation of British overseas expansion the work has distinct and original value. Students will be glad of its clearness of outline, its treatment of epochs of transition in theories of trade, in the art of navigation, and in the conception of empire. But in detail the work impinges upon fields of specialized knowledge—fields upon which the author seems to be treading without due fear. His method raises quite seriously the question as to whether it is any longer advisable for a single writer to endeavor to encompass all local as well as general imperial history. Canada, by way of example, is only one region beset with danger for the "Made in England" variety of empire history. The young Canadian cousin of Macaulay's famous schoolboy would spot unhesitatingly certain errors of fact in Mr. Williamson's Canadian chapters, though a scholar would approve their essential accuracy of outline.

The intrusion of the empire into world politics also makes demands upon specialized knowledge; and here, from certain offhand judgments, Mr. Williamson gives the impression of striving to encompass subjects with which he is not completely familiar. It is no longer possible, for example, to resolve the Fashoda Incident without a reference to Russia. To remark that "the French were extremely annoyed" at the British occupation of Egypt after the bombardment of Alexandria seems to suggest almost the vocabulary and plot of a neo-Victorian simple story. To dismiss Young China as merely "fatuous" does rather invite the retort that perhaps in this case the seat of fatuousness may not be altogether in those who are thus unhandsomely described.

McGill University. C. E. FRYER.

In British Tropical Africa: an Historical Outline. By Ifor L. Evans, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, the University

Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. x, 396, 12 s. 6 d.) This excellent summary is designed, according to the author, to meet the "immediate needs of Colonial Service Probationers at the two older [English] Universities". But it will also be welcomed as a useful handbook by men of affairs and by students of British history. Egypt and the Union of South Africa are excluded from the account. There are twelve sketch maps and diagrams, a statistical summary, a bibliographical note, listing twenty-four titles, and a satisfactory index. A large map of the African continent would have added much to the usefulness of the volume. Mr. Evans presents in adequate fashion the development of the British tropical dependencies in Africa. He tells us the story of a region that has an area of 2,250,000 square miles or more than fifty times that of England, and a population of over 41,000,000, as large as that of Great Britain and northern Ireland, but with only a handful of European settlers; a country that imports about £65,000,000 worth of products and exports about £60,000,000 worth. The loss of British influence in parts of Asia has largely been compensated for by the economic development of Africa. The long unrealized dream of eighteenth and nineteenth century reformers that the vast wealth of Africa could be developed by using native labor on the spot rather than as slaves in foreign lands has come true to a surprising degree in the twentieth century. Last of all the continents to fall under European control, will it also be the last continent lost by Europe? The author presents the life and work of Livingstone in a clear and compact summary of two pages. Under the author's skillful guidance, the reader lays down the volume with a new and vivid sense of such hazy geographical expressions as the Gold Coast, Nyasaland, Uganda and Somaliland.

The University of California at Los Angeles. FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

The Life and Letters of Sir Harry Johnston. By Alex. Johnston. (New York, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1929, pp. 351, $3.50.) This life of Sir Harry Johnston written by his brother who acted as his secretary during part of his remarkable career makes most fascinating and profitable reading. It is intended to supplement Sir Harry's autobiography. His life was perhaps more intimately connected with all parts of Africa than that of any other British Empire builder, for he served his country in the northern, western, and eastern parts of that continent, and it was due largely to his efforts that British control was established in East Africa.

The versatility of this sturdy, aggressive little man who excelled as a painter of animals and African savages, as an indefatigable naturalist, a keen observer of native traits, an author of many books dealing with Africa and a most able administrator makes a study of his career well worth while. The book abounds in vivid descriptions of African scenery, native customs and conditions, and of wild life, drawn from Sir Harry's correspondence and various writings.

Of even more value to the historian is the insight gained into the methods employed by Europeans in the early days, to secure concessions from native chiefs, and protectorates over African lands. It was in such an endeavor that Sir Harry would have lost his life at the hands of African cannibals if he had not convinced them "how much better it would be to 'make a book' with him than a meal off him". Even as it was, the fires were ready and the matter was "vigorously debated between the pro-Treaty and pro-Dinner parties" until, the former prevailing, Sir Harry succeeded in getting the chief men to make their crosses "on the Treaty form, which insured that Victoria was by the grace of God not only Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of India, but also Suzerain of Ededama". . . . It is little incidents of this sort couched in sprightly form which add to the piquancy and spice of the narrative.

Missionaries, merchants, slave traders, African chiefs as well as Foreign Office officials are presented in a most lifelike form. Of special interest to American readers is the account of Sir Harry's conversations with President Roosevelt, his careful study of the negro in continental America and the West Indies, and his verdict that Spain should be awarded the highest place among colonizing nations in the treatment of the dependent negro, with Portugal, France, and England following in the order named.

Pennsylvania State College. JAMES E. GILLESPIE.

L'Algérie: une Oeuvre Française. Conférences organisées par la Société des Anciens Élèves et Élèves de l'École Libre des Sciences Politiques. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1929, pp. vii, 296, 12 fr.) Last year in honor of the approaching centenary of the Algerian expedition, the École Libre des Sciences Politiques sponsored a series of six lectures on the historical development of the colony. Having obtained the services of several eminent men of long practical experience in the colony the École felt justified in the publication of their spoken word under the above title.

The roster includes such names as General Paul Azan, who is the chief of the historical service of the war department, René de Saint Quentin, an undersecretary of state in charge of Levantine Africa, Edmond Philippar, head of the Algerian branch of the Crédit Foncier, and others.

It seems unfortunate that men so well equipped to discuss the topics under consideration should have been given only the space of an hour's lecture. The result of this brevity has been that the reader finds himself in command of inadequate data from which he may draw his own conclusions on the subject. At the same time it should be observed that the character of the topics (the Army of Africa, Administration, the Colonist) prohibits an exposition of the underlying policy or philosophy in French North African colonization. Consequently the scholar will find not only a paucity of factual material, but also little in the way of theory, while the fact that the lecturers have all held office in the colonial world professionally inhibits them from portraying the less glamorous and romantic sides of imperialism. The native (outnumbering the Europeans five to one) and the native problem are given almost no notice, while the potential development of local patriotism is not even mentioned. The tone of the volume is set by E. F. Gautier's contribution entitled Algeria To-day and To-morrow, wherein he reasons that inasmuch as Algerian prosperity, trade, and conditions of living in the past have constantly advanced, so can one see in the future an inevitable continuation of this upward evolution.

S. K.

Van Tanger tot Agadir. Door Dr. H. E. Enthoven. (Utrecht, Kemink and Son, pp. 223, 2.90 fl.) This scholarly production is based on extensive reading of the sources and of the leading secondary works in French, German, English, and Dutch. Of great value is the information extended to Dr. Enthoven by such eminent scholars, statesmen, and diplomats as Jules Cambon, Maurice Herbette, Richard von Kühlmann, Franz von Mendelssohn, Friedrich Rosen, Justin de Selves, Wilhelm von Stumm, André Tardieu, and Alfred Zimmermann.

The book opens with a very readable account of political developments in Morocco up to 1905. It is pointed out that much was done in Morocco by Nicolson and Révoil to make the Entente Cordiale possible. The second chapter deals with Emperor William's visit to Tangiers, the preparations made for this visit by Von Kühlmann, the attitude of the French and English governments, the dismissal of Delcassé, and the compromise effected in 1905. In the third chapter the Conference of Algeciras is fully treated, and in several cases errors are exposed in the sources. The writer takes pains to show how much there was at stake for Germany. It was far more important to loosen the ties between England and France than to secure compensations in tropical Africa. Von Bülow was probably right in trying not to offend Islam.

Chapter IV. treats the *Intermezzo* between Algeciras and Agadir. The task before Dr. Friedrich Rosen, the new German minister in Morocco, was to arouse a united feeling of nationality in Morocco among the natives. This task was difficult, partly because of the poor German diplomacy in 1905 and because the Sultan of Morocco was beset by a number of insurrections. The "peaceful penetration" of the French in Morocco continued, and for four years the German government took no decisive measures to intervene. The emperor wished to avoid friction with France; he admitted that Morocco was going to be French anyhow. The agreement of February 7, 1909, between Germany and France actually caused the Russian diplomats to worry about the reconciliation between Paris and Berlin. But then follow a number of events, outlined in chapter V., culminating in the crisis of 1911. The career of Alfred von Kiderlen-Wächter is correctly emphasized, and the activities of Cambon and Zimmermann are seen in a proper perspective.

At the end of the book a useful bibliography is given, which, however, includes no titles in Spanish or Italian. Unfortunately the book has no index.

The University of Michigan. A. Hyma.

The Mandates System in Relation to Africa and the Pacific Islands. By Elizabeth van Maanen-Helmer, Ph.D. (London, P. S. King, 1929, pp. 331, 15 s.) This timely volume was approved as a doctoral thesis at the University of London. The author defines the purpose of her study to be ". . . not the accomplishments of the mandates system, but its constitutional development; not the evolution of the natives, but the nature of the control over that evolution established under the League of Nations ". In three illuminating chapters she traces the conflict between industrialism and humanitarianism, and the colonial rivalry among the powers during the past 150 years. She discusses briefly the work of the Berlin African Congress of 1884–1885 and the Brussels conferences of 1890 and 1899. Finally she relates how, during the World War, the opponents of imperial economic rivalry combined forces with the friends of backward peoples and reached an agreement upon principles. On the insistence of President Wilson, these principles were embodied as article 22 in the Covenant of the League of Nations. The bulk of the study, however, is devoted to an appraisal of the main institution of the mandates system, namely, the Permanent Mandates Commission. The author is conservative in her judgment of the work already accomplished, but she regards the system as a promising international experiment in the government of native peoples. The solution of any colonial question by the mandates commission may be expected, in her opinion, to be of value in settling similar problems in colonies and protectorates. Dr. Maanen-Helmer's conclusion is that ". . . whatever the future may bring, the mandates system is already doing an indispensable work in making the welfare and development of native races an international responsibility, —in fact as in word 'a sacred trust of civilization'" (p. 279).

Five annexes in the book include specimens of class B and class C mandates, the constitution and rules of procedure of the mandates commission, a list of questions to be answered in the annual reports of the mandatory powers, and a list of the accredited representatives to the commission to date. The persevering reader who is undeterred by a somewhat heavy style will learn in this pioneer effort in its field how an interesting institution has had its foundations laid and is prepared for what the author thinks should be a useful future.

The University of California at Los Angeles. Frank J. Klingberg.

La Guerre Navale dans la Méditerranée. Par A. Thomazi, Capitaine de Vaisseau de Réserve. [La Marine Française dans la Grande Guerre (1914–1918).] (Paris, Payot, 1929, pp. 241, 24 fr.) This book is the fourth volume of *The French Navy in the World War (1914–1918)* by the same author. It is divided into four parts: the organization and problems of the allied fleet in the Mediterranean, naval operations in Syria and Egypt, the situation in Greece, and submarine warfare.

The appendixes show, among other things, the naval losses from submarine attacks which, exclusive of the Dardanelles, included two battleships, two cruisers, and seven auxiliary cruisers. The book is of considerable interest to a student of naval history as covering an important phase of the war at sea not touched on in general histories of the war. It demonstrates the value of sea power in the transportation and disposition of land forces. An illustration of this is the transporting between April 12 and May 30, 1916, without casualty, of the reorganized Serbian army of 125,000 men, together with equipment and supplies, from Corfu to Salonika, where they were badly needed to reënforce the Franco-English expeditionary force.

Among the topics discussed in the book are: the delay and failure to supply equipment to the fleet, even of fresh provisions, due to the mobilization of industry for the supply of the army; the use of cruisers for anti-submarine work and search for submarine bases at the beginning of operations; the unsuitability and unreliability of French torpedo craft; measures leading to the final adoption of the convoy system; and the handicap to successful allied naval operations because of failure to provide for unity of command afloat. The author also explains how the battle squadrons suffered from lack of facilities for continuous training of the personnel for battle and from the transfer of men to anti-submarine craft. It was necessary, further, to conserve fuel and supplies. Another section is devoted to the defense of the position of Admiral du Fournet in Greece. Incidentally, Captain Thomazi thinks that assigning naval commanders to diplomatic duties hampers the efficiency of a fleet as an organization for battle.

It would appear from the book that no such operations as were actually attempted were contemplated in the general plans preceding the war. There seems always to have been a disagreement as to command in allied operations.

The preface by Vice Admiral Dumesnit states that France has generally gone to war with inadequate means upon the sea and in his conclusion he states that unity of naval command was never realized in the Mediterranean.

The book and preface are frank in criticism and recognition of error, and in general the criticism is constructive. The book is not illustrated but at the end there are six maps of the areas of operation. There is an excellent bibliography.

Yale University. H. E. Cook.

Making Fascists. By Herbert W. Schneider and Shepard B. Clough. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp. xv, 211, $3.00.) This book belongs to the series of Studies in the Making of Citizens, edited by Professor Charles E. Merriam. For the purpose of investigation, Fascist Italy has been regarded primarily as an experiment in the formation of new types of civic loyalty. The analysis which results is therefore less a cross-section of contemporary Italy than a survey of its various groups, economic, regional, and religious, in their relation to Fascism, and an account of the several "techniques" of civic training employed, in part deliberately, in part unconsciously, to ensure the loyalty of the Italian people and to cement the structure of the Fascist state. Among these modern means for the attainment of what the authors describe as "ancient ends", the most effective are the educational system, military training, the Fascist party, the Fascist press, the civil service, the various patriotic associations, and the use of symbolism and tradition. The significance and efficacy of each of these devices is discussed by a method that is scientific and objective but hardly so critical as one could have wished. This is probably due to the unequal character of the material at present accessible to those who write on Fascist subjects; the excessive abundance of one variety, the great paucity of another. Almost all the material used by the authors of this book was, so to speak, born in the purple, and necessarily bears the *nihil obstat* of the Fascist government. The impartial observer learns to read between the lines, but all the lines have been written by the same hand. Such, however, are the limitations within which all serious students of Fascism must be content to work until the secret archives of the Fascist government are thrown open to the investigator.

Messrs. Schneider and Clough are in error when they assert that the "labor tribunals are special courts consisting of experts appointed by the Provincial Economic Councils" (p. 6). The labor tribunals are, in reality, special sections of the ordinary courts of appeal, and each consists of three professional judges and two experts in the problems of labor and production (law of April 3, 1926). There is an odd mixture of truth and exaggeration in the authors' view that the conflicting claims of the Catholic Church and the Fascist State, imperfectly adjusted by the Lateran Treaty, represent a rivalry between two religions. No doubt the pope and Mussolini are, at bottom, struggling "for the souls of Italians"; yet there is little evidence that Fascism has seduced many of the truly faithful, while, on the other hand, it is clear that Mussolini regards the Catholic religion as a bond of spiritual unity such as Italy needs and such as Fascism has as yet failed to furnish.

The University of Michigan. LEONARD MANYON.

Studies in the History of American Law, with Special Reference to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. By Richard B. Morris, Ph.D. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1930, pp. 285, $4.50.) This is a good piece of work; scholarly, painstaking, shrewd, and occasionally brilliant. It is so good that it proves the impossibility of the author's aim and method. He can not do his work, first of all, because he is not a lawyer; but second, and chiefly, because the history of American law before 1930 is the history of thirteen distinct systems, each with its own development, its own peculiarities, its own literature (mostly in manuscript, and accessible with difficulty), and its own small circle of students. Until these thirteen histories are thoroughly studied and mastered, it is idle to attempt even such modest studies as this.

As a specification on the first head, a lawyer would hardly have dismissed the view of Ames and Professor Wigmore as summarily as Dr. Morris has done in the beginning of chapter IV., on no better authority (good as it is) than the cited opinion of Dean Leon Green. On the second heading, one might call attention to the very sporadic citations of the law of colonies outside Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York; and in Massachusetts, for instance, the neglect of all unprinted matter outside the Suffolk County Court House. Good use has been made of the material found; but even Dane's *Abridgment*, the great printed source of knowledge of the pre-Revolutionary law of Massachusetts, apparently escaped the author's notice. The records of all the counties except Suffolk and Essex were unused. And sources of local law, like the magistrate's diary of William Pynchon, now being edited for the Ames Foundation, should throw light on the living law of the people. We in Massachusetts have never made a census of our own manuscript material for the history of our law; how can a student, however brilliant, working in another state, get very far? Yet, as compared with other parts of the country, the sources for the colonial law of Massachusetts have been worked over and published.

The same time and thought, the same scholarly method, employed by Dr. Morris on the history of the law of the colony of New York, or of Connecticut, or of New Jersey, would have given us the classical authority on that history. The time has come to study the history of American law; but the first step is the study of the history of the law of each colony. We have in Dr. Morris a man well qualified and proved. If we can find a few more willing to work independently though sympathetically, we may accomplish the task.

One must end as one began. Dr. Morris has undertaken a thing which no one can do; but he has, in a patient and scholarly way, brought together a mass of material, handled it with surprisingly interesting insight, and shown himself one of the most promising young historians of America.

Harvard University. J. H. Beale.

Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1701–1729, French Dominion. Collected, edited, and translated by Dunbar Rowland, LL.D., State Historian of Mississippi, and Albert Godfrey Sanders, M.A., Professor of Romance Languages, Millsaps College. Volume II. (Jackson, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1929. pp. 694, $5.00.) The present reviewer had occasion some years ago to work through a considerable part of the documentary series in the colonial archives in Paris designated as the *Correspondance Générale Louisiane* and was made thereby to realize the unique importance of this series as source material for the story of the French régime in the lower Mississippi Valley. The experience, he feels, has made him all the more ready to appreciate the very great service rendered by the editors of the volume under review, which is a selection in English translation of some sixty letters and documents from the *Correspondance Générale Louisiane*. The volume is the second one in a series relative to French colonial Louisiana now being issued by the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History. The editing shows critical insight and scholarly acquaintance with the general background of the material. The translations, which are due to Professor Sanders, have been done with accuracy and skill, as far as one may judge under the circumstances, the French text of the originals not being reproduced. However, footnotes supply the French text wherever the exact equivalent in the vernacular for phrases or words may not be evident.

French colonial officialdom was meticulously minute in reporting to headquarters and many of the details embodied in the dispatches seem almost humorously inconsequential; but the zealous officials wrote better than they knew and for the historian of to-day their data furnish a powerful searchlight on the intimate political, social, economic, and religious life of eighteenth century Louisiana. Surely the colony was a distracted one in the period (1701–1729) covered by the documents, "a country", as good Father Raphael wrote, "that may truly be called the country of discontent and confusion". "I declare to you", we read in a letter of Perrier, the Louisiana governor, "that the proceedings of this country astonish me every day more and more. When you told me to keep a journal about everything that happens, it would take several volumes for one single person and this volume would be filled with a thousand petty things that, however, give rise to all the discussions that you have seen or will see."

A few minor defects came under the reviewer's notice. The letters and documents as listed on pages 1–8 are without page numbers and one loses a little time picking them out in the body of the volume. De la Chaise is called governor (p. 294) whereas his actual title at the date was special commissary (p. 6). The note on De Bourgmont (p. 413) takes no account of the most important extant study on his Missouri career, Baron de Villiers's recently (1925) published *La Découverte du Missouri et l'Histoire du Fort d'Orléans (1673–1728)*. The list of commandants at the Illinois (p. 71) is misleading. De Baugy (1683) is followed by De La Forest (1700), whereas Tonti was again commandant at the Illinois in 1685 and built the fort at Peoria in the winter of 1691–1692. According to the style adopted by the United States Bureau of

Ethnology singular and plural forms of the names of most Indian tribes are identical, *e.g.*, the Osage and Kansa, not the Osages and Kansas.

St. Louis University. G. J. Garraghan, S.J.

Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, 1732–1734. (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1930, pp. xvi, 445.) Beginning with this volume, Mr. Stewart Mitchell takes the place of Dr. Worthington C. Ford as editor of this series, as of the other publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The journals presented in this volume run from May 31, 1732, to April 19, 1734. They are occupied, to an even greater extent than most of the volumes in the series, with acrimonious disputes between the House and Governor Belcher, respecting a variety of matters but especially the disastrous state of the provincial finances. The struggle as to the right to appoint the attorney general is also noteworthy. Paper money, and boundary disputes with New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York also have large place. With an empty treasury, little could be actually accomplished, but, as is usual in these volumes, light is cast on a multitude of local as well as provincial transactions and conditions.

Amherst Academy: a New England School of the Past, 1814–1861. By Frederick Tuckerman. (Amherst, printed for the Trustees, 1929, pp. xii, 272.) It was natural for the ministers and public-spirited laymen of New England, in the late eighteenth century and earlier years of the nineteenth, to supplement their colleges by the establishment of academies intended to give solid preparatory training, for they knew well how excellent and fruitful had been the work which the first-rate Dissenting academies of England, such as those at Warrington, Tewkesbury, and Stoke Newington, had carried on while Oxford was " sunk in port and prejudice ". Of these New England academies, a few, such as the two established by Samuel Phillips, have flourished increasingly, and of these there are histories. Of those which faded away as public high schools grew, none was perhaps more influential than Amherst Academy, and Dr. Tuckerman has done a useful service by rescuing from oblivion the history of its development and services. It was founded in 1814 in a little town of some 1800 inhabitants, the excellence of whose soil for such a plant may be judged from the fact that in its first fifty years, then nearly completed, thirty-nine of its natives had been graduated from New England colleges. Noah Webster, resident in Amherst from 1812 to 1822, took a leading part in the founding of the academy. Before long it had a hundred students, Mary Lyon being the best known of the earlier, Emily Dickinson of the later pupils. Excellent teachers served it. The instruction was thorough, and determinedly classical. One of its best services was in leading, quite directly, to the foundation of Amherst College. Apparently, however, more of the money and other lifeblood which such institutions require went thereafter to the college, and after the establishment of the high school in 1851 the old academy languished. Dr. Tuckerman has performed his labor of love with great industry of research, and has written in such a way as to invest with great interest a story typical of a vanished stage in American education and development.

The Beginnings of West Tennessee, in the Land of the Chickasaws, 1541–1841. By Samuel Cole Williams, LL.D., Formerly Justice of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. (Johnson City, the Watauga Press, 1930, pp. xii, 331, $4.50.) Ten years ago the author of this work urged that some son of West Tennessee write a history of that section of the state; but when, after a long wait, no one volunteered for the service, Judge Williams set about the task himself. Somewhat handicapped by the inaccessibility of many of the materials needed for such a history, he has nevertheless brought to his service a great variety and extent of sources, manuscript and printed, and from them has produced a work that is not only of great interest to Tennesseeans but is a valuable contribution to the larger history of westward expansion. If anyone is disposed to complain that the topics are many and the treatment brief, it should be remembered that the purpose of the book is to record beginnings, and that they were many.

West Tennessee has a unique position in the history of expansion for the reason that it was next to the last part of the cis-Mississippi region to be cleared of the Indian title. Although, as a necessary groundwork, several chapters are devoted to the prior history (as, for example, explorations, early colonization schemes, strife among the powers over the Mississippi region, North Carolina's claims, etc.), the real beginning of the story is the Chickasaw Treaty of 1818, which opened the region to settlement. That the treaty should have been largely engineered and conducted by Andrew Jackson is in nowise surprising (Isaac Shelby of Kentucky was the other commissioner); but strangely enough, as Judge Williams emphasizes, although "Jackson's Purchase" outranks eight of the states in extent, it has received almost no attention from our historians. Besides an account of the affair, the book contains, in an appendix, the secret journal of the treaty, September 29–October 19, 1818, which has not hitherto been printed, together with the text of the treaty.

In a series of some forty chapters the author traces the settlement of the region, the beginnings of government, particularly the organization of the western tiers of counties, the development of agriculture, business and banking, the newspaper press, etc., describes customs and manners, education, religion, slavery, and other aspects of life, has a chapter on the founding of Memphis, one on the bench and bar of the region and period, and finally an account of the political campaigns of 1839–1841.

The author again indulges in a hope, namely, that some one will now feel the urge to take up the story where he has left off. So say we all; and if a plebiscite should be taken, the verdict would doubtless be that he who has given us the prologue should now write the play.

Division of Historical Research, EDMUND C. BURNETT.
Carnegie Institution.

A Raft Pilot's Log: a History of the Great Rafting Industry on the Upper Mississippi. By Walter A. Blair. (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1930, pp. 328, $6.00.) The potent spell that the Mississippi lays upon the spirits of susceptible men is mysterious only to those that do not know the river. The strength of the lure lies in the peculiar beauty of the stream's setting and environment, the almost human variableness of its caprice, and then its atmosphere of a mellow and fading tradition. After that comes its indubitable history and the great part it played in the nation's development.

Captain Walter A. Blair, one of the last of the race of river navigators whose exploits and triumphs seem to the uninitiated like feats of wizardry, has chosen here to illuminate the historical division. A great part of the river traffic from 1840 to the end in 1915 of the long period of decline was the gigantic trade in white pine timber and lumber. With almost magical swiftness, this commerce grew to overshadowing proportions; then from its climax slowly withered and disappeared. A master of every phase of the river record, Captain Blair is particularly well qualified to deal with this great chapter of timber transport, for he began life in it and became one of its conspicuous directors. From the riches of his personal experience and knowledge he has made an invaluable contribution to the history of industrial America. With judicious care and research he has brought out the details of a vast business and laid them in order for the perfect use of all future historians, and the pleasure and instruction of the reader of to-day.

He begins with the raft, which was the plexus of all this bustling commerce, and explains its economic function, how it was put together, how it was managed successfully through daunting difficulties, how it became the indispensable lumber supply of an empire. He tells who the men were that performed these marvels with such unwieldy craft, and enlivens their achievements with innumerable anecdotes and incidents fresh from his own long observation. He has brief biographical sketches of all the famous pilots and masters of the perished days of river glory. With a certain touch of honest affection, he preserves for us the old steamboats, often more famous than their commanders, and follows each to its melancholy ending.

Forty full page illustrations, ably chosen and well made, add to the historical value of his work. Captain Blair has made a storehouse of information on a fascinating theme. Future generations will think of him with gratitude.

Washington, D. C. CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.

The American Peace Crusade, 1815–1860. By Merle Eugene Curti, Associate Professor of History, Smith College. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1929, pp. viii, 250, $3.50.) This brief study, originally a doctoral thesis, covers the organized peace movement in the United States from the close of the War of 1812 to the eve of the Civil War. The author announces an intention of continuing the story in a later volume. The reviewer can not help doubting the wisdom of publishing a chronological fragment of such a well-defined, topical study. Would not some delay have been warranted for the sake of a continuous account to the present time?

One wonders how much the author means by the proposal "to gauge", in the subsequent volume, "the influence of pacifists and internationalists in breaking down the American tradition of isolation". The attitude of the United States Senate in recent years toward the League of Nations, the World Court, and toward various projects for international coöperation does not indicate that the tradition of isolation is in a state of serious breakdown.

The volume tells much about the Massachusetts Peace Society, organized in 1815, and about many other similar societies in several states. More important, of course, was the American Peace Society, founded in New York, May 8, 1828, by William Ladd. The activities of this society are set forth at some length—and with better perspective than in Whitney, *American Peace Society, a Centennial History,* 1928. There is naturally much about the Quakers, including some criticism because they had not yet learned as a body (but only as individuals) to work in good causes with other groups. Nor does the author neglect to correlate the American peace movement with that in Europe, especially in England and France.

Manuscript material was not lacking for the study. The original records of the American Peace Society were available; also diaries, letters, and other papers of various peace leaders such as Burritt, Holland, Ladd, Watson, and Wright. A considerable printed literature of the peace movement was also at hand, notably the *Advocate of Peace.* The study is well documented and has the ultimate virtue of a good index. The account is well organized and well written.

Haverford College. R. W. Kelsey.

William Kirby: the Portrait of a Tory Loyalist. By Lorne Pierce. (Toronto, the Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. xiv, 477, $5.00.) William Kirby, tanner, newspaper editor, collector of customs, and holder of sundry local offices at Niagara-on-the-Lake, author, poet, and diligent letter writer, left a mass of papers from which the author of this volume prints copious extracts. Born in Hull, England, in 1817, Kirby emigrated with his family to the United States in 1832. After seven years in this country, spent mostly in Cincinnati, Ohio, he moved to Canada. From 1839 till his death in 1906 he resided at Niagara, Ontario, and acquired some fame as the author of a Canadian historical novel, *The Golden Dog,* and as a poet who sang the praises of the United Empire Loyalists.

In Cincinnati and at Niagara, William Kirby came in touch with frontier conditions and frontier folk, though at the latter place he also found and was admitted to a circle that had, and sought to maintain, certain social and political traditions which he adopted and tried to uphold through a long life. Kirby was a man of parts—strong-minded, loyal, and brave. He had an active but narrow intellect, a gift for languages, and some talent as a poet. Occasionally his poems show insight, inspiration, and ability to understand and interpret both man and nature. But unfortunately he became very early a snob who isolated himself from his fellows, always aimed at establishing contacts with the "higher-ups", and wasted his gifts in the production of political rhymes of little or no merit.

It is evident that the Kirby Papers contain materials that throw light upon the conditions, social, political, and religious, in Upper Canada in the middle years of the nineteenth century, and some of this material is produced by Dr. Pierce. But he is too eager to place William Kirby in a setting of national and international movements, thereby doing him an injustice. An interesting and even attractive frontier anomaly seems Lilliputian in such a frame.

The book is marred by numerous digressions, and while some valuable letters are produced, many of those printed are either mere autographs or else have no logical connection with the book itself. Readers will be astounded to learn (p. 20) that the English Parliamentary elections in 1833 "were still conducted according to the Royal Decree of 1265"; that the price of wheat in England in 1839 (p. 22) was £3 10 s. 8 d. a bushel; and that John Bright (p. 203) "stood out against the Little Englanders". They will also be puzzled in identifying the "Lord Huntington", "Roseburry", "Groschen", and "W. E. Foster" (p. 378) apparently mentioned by Sir John A. MacDonald in a letter to Kirby dated March 6, 1885. Could Sir John err so egregiously in spelling Hartington, Rosebery, Goschen, and Forster?

The University of Wisconsin. PAUL KNAPLUND.

The Americanization of Carl Schurz. By Chester Verne Easum. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp. xi, 374, $3.50.) To all but a few of the many millions of immigrants in the nineteenth century "Americanization" meant the adoption of an outward style of living, and acceptance by their neighbors as social and political equals. The experience of Carl Schurz was unique. His problem was not that of learning the English language or gaining the respect of his new countrymen. Both came almost as a matter of course. Americanization, in his case, writes Dr. Easum, was the "growth of his attachment to America during the interval of nine years which elapsed between his arrival as an outlawed immigrant and his return to Europe, clothed in the dignity of the diplomatic representative of his adopted nation at the court of Spain".

This volume is a biography of Schurz during the formative period. After a sketch of his youth in Germany, his career is followed from the time when he first interested himself in the local politics of Watertown, Wisconsin, until his active and influential services in the Lincoln campaign were rewarded by the appointment to a foreign mission. For an understanding of the ideals and methods of the man who during fifty years was such a powerful and uncontrollable factor in American politics, Dr. Easum's analysis is essential and it constitutes an excellent introduction to the party history of a time when all political organizations were in a state of flux. Especially enlightening is the discussion of the relation of the Germans in the Republican party to the nomination of Lincoln and the activities of Schurz in the Chicago convention.

The study is based primarily upon the correspondence and speeches of Schurz and the leading contemporary newspapers of Wisconsin. Had these sources been supplemented by a direct use of several representative German-American papers, a more complete understanding of the process by which the group that was to accept him as its mouthpiece and political general was persuaded to substitute for the romantic idea of a German political party the practical policy of coöperation with the organization which more nearly expressed their ideals, would have been possible. Many of the letters written by Schurz to Mrs. Schurz and cited in manuscript have been available since their publication in 1928, under the editorship of Dr. Joseph Schafer, as *The Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz.* Although the translation is different, reference to that volume would have been a convenience. There is some confusion in the bibliography, the *Criminal Zeitung* of New York being listed under Cincinnati and the venerable *Vossische Zeitung* of Berlin being credited to St. Louis.

The University of Illinois. MARCUS L. HANSEN.

History of Alaska. By Henry W. Clark. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. x, 208, $2.50.) Inasmuch as this small volume traverses a wide field, ranging from the ethnological background and discovery of the region, through Russian occupation and American mismanagement, down into the social and economic situation of the present, the author is forced to limit his treatment to that of a brief sketch in general terms. Hence, citations must perforce be infrequent and explanations fragmentary, perhaps even misleading, to the uninformed reader. An impression of inexactitude can scarcely be avoided under such a handicap of brevity. Its recurrence in the volume under consideration is not infrequent. For example, a voyage taking place in 1786 is cited as the sole tangible result in Alaska of the efforts of Louis XIV. to encourage exploration (p. 46). The Pinchot conservation dispute is described as the cause of the launching of the Progressive party (p. 139).

Mr. Clark is most at home in comment upon mining conditions. He explains how the "Treadwell" was the greatest "grub staker" of them all, how Nome suffered from the fact that there was no Chilkoot Pass to keep out "cheechackos" ill-adapted to the conditions on that shore, and how the record of the behavior of the settlers in the "rush" era was creditable as a whole. Regarding the natives, he points out the interesting fact that the legislature enfranchised them under conditions which were made strict upon the insistence of the Indians themselves. For the white man, Alaska is "a poor man's paradise" because the scarcity of women and of family life frees workers from the danger of wage-cutting by dependent classes. The social importance of the "gasboat" in the life of the "Alaskan" is likened to that of the Ford automobile in the economy of the "American". The cryptic statement is made that the unsettled character of life in the territory is "indicated by the fact that hardware remained the biggest import as late as 1910" (p. 149).

The author, though obviously conservative in viewpoint, sees a brightening horizon. Alaska is losing her boom aspect and is settling down to a slower, but more permanent, growth. Agriculturally, the region has an assured future; it compares favorably with Scandinavia and will produce sufficient food for any population attracted to it. The new immigration can not be enticed so far away without artificial stimulus; but given more settlers, a reformed system of transportation, a simplified government, and enlarged capital, prosperity will ensue. These desiderata wait upon that time when the United States government shall completely forget mercantilism and substitute for it colonial self-determination, and capital shall find large returns so uncertain at home that it shall be tempted into the North.

The proof reading has not been all that it should be, especially in the citations and index. The book is generously provided with illustrations of interest, some twenty-three in number.

Philadelphia. JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS.

The Growth and Decadence of Constitutional Government. By J. Allen Smith, LL.B., Ph.D., Late Professor of Political Science, University of Washington, with an Introduction by the late Professor Vernon L. Parrington. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1930, pp. xvii, 300, $3.00.) Death unfortunately prevented the author from finishing his work. His daughter revised and prepared the manuscript for publication. His colleague and friend, Professor Parrington, contributed the introduction, in itself an excellent statement of the political philosophy of these two distinguished members of the faculty of the University of Washington. Professor Smith will be remembered as one of the intellectual leaders of the Progressive movement. An earlier work, *The Spirit of American Government* (1907), provided the "Insurgent group" with a congenial interpretation of American constitutional history. It maintained the impossibility of an effective democratic government under a constitution of separation of powers, checks and balances, and the judicial veto. The present book was written during the reaction which followed the World War and carries further "his exposition of the gentle art of thwarting the majority will by legal and constitutional means" (Parrington). The title reveals the despair with which Dr. Smith viewed recent constitutional tendencies. His thesis is simplicity itself. With the economic revolution which followed the Civil War a plutocracy assumed control of the federal government. In the process of change the Supreme Court is the *deus ex machina.* To make matters worse plutocracy in power took the occasion of the Venezuela affair (1895) and the Spanish War to lead the United States into frank imperialism. "Imperialism is a natural and inevitable consequence of our capitalistic industrial system" (p. 202). The historical student requires a more satisfactory explanation of imperialism than capitalism.

Other views of the author also suffer from the heated atmosphere of 1912 and 1918. "The so-called League of Nations, set up at the close of the World War, was really nothing more than an association of the victorious powers for the purpose of dictating the terms of peace and enforcing them against the vanquished" (p. 243). Is this statement of a half-truth the temper and vision of a clear-headed political scientist? With most of the author's conclusions historians will agree. His interpretation of the origin of our constitutional system has been generally accepted, and in stating that he has performed a valuable service. Only when a Jeffersonian political philosopher runs amuck of the modern centralized, industrialized state do difficulties arise. Complicated forces, not alone a plutocratic conspiracy, drive governments toward centralized authority, toward imperialism and toward internationalism, and make the distinction between individual liberty and license a perplexing problem of administration. The conspiracy theory is an easy explanation; it may be good party doctrine; it is not likely to become accepted historically any more than the same theory for ante bellum controversies has been accepted.

Western Reserve University. ELBERT J. BENTON.

The Recall of Public Officers: a Study of the Operation of the Recall in California. By Frederick L. Bird and Frances M. Ryan, of the Department of Political Science of Occidental College. (New York, Macmillan, 1930, pp. viii, 403, $4.00.) As an institution which, since its introduction by Los Angeles in 1903, has been established to apply to state officers in eleven states and to public officials in well over a thousand municipalities the recall possesses decidedly more than local appeal. Nevertheless the present work is the first intensive study that has been made of its operation. While limiting themselves to California, Professors Bird and Ryan present an excellent account of the origin and historical development of the recall, of its practical operation in cities of all sizes and in other local government units of that state, and of its somewhat tortuous legal aspects, concluding with a brief summary, bibliography, and an appendix presenting a table of cases and the principal constitutional and legislative texts dealing with the matter.

Prior to the appearance of this book, standard commentators on the recall were accustomed to estimate that probably it had not been resorted to more than one hundred and fifty times in the United States as a whole. Yet Professors Bird and Ryan discovered that in California alone it had been pushed to the point of holding elections 155 times. Doubtless intensive studies similar to theirs would show that the recall has been employed elsewhere more frequently than is commonly supposed. Compared, however, with the large number of officials subject to recall, the cases in which it is used represent a very low percentage: its principal effect being, as Woodrow Wilson expressed it, that of "the gun behind the door".

Not only have the authors of *The Recall of Public Officers* made a thorough and judicious study of that device, they have also presented admirable brief sketches, obtained at first hand, of the social groups in California towns and cities which, clashing with each other, resort to its use. They do not miss the humorous elements of the situation developed chiefly by recalls of the officials of small towns, in one of which a civic leader poignantly remarked: "Politics is a wonderful thing but in Watts, politics is a fearful and malignant disease." To all political scientists the book is invaluable: in later years historians may well resort to it for some highly effective snapshots of the American scene on the west coast during the first three decades of the present century.

Swarthmore College. ROBERT C. BROOKS.

The Civil Service of Canada. By Robert MacGregor Dawson, M.A., D.Sc. (Econ.), Professor of Political Science, University of Saskatchewan. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1929, pp. 266, $6.00.) Canadians like to think that the spoils system is a strictly American contribution to the art of popular government. Those who read Dr. Dawson's book will learn better. The practice of passing the loaves and fishes among the politically faithful dates back to the beginnings of British rule in Canada and it has continued down to the present day. Although some of its old-time vigor has now been sapped away by civil service laws, "patronage is still the dominant influence in the service" according to the author.

Dr. Dawson's book is divided into two unequal parts. The first and shorter portion traces the history of public appointments in Canada down to the present day. It is a sordid story, most of it. The establishment of the Canadian Confederation in 1867 did not give the spoils system any considerable setback. It flourished unrestrained until after the turn of the twentieth century. Even as late as 1904 the postmaster general of Canada openly defended it on the floor of Parliament and expressed the hope that the system was losing none of its traditional stamina. A few years later, nevertheless, the Dominion Parliament was induced to establish a civil service commission with power to conduct examinations in the case of appointments to the "inside service", that is, to classified positions in the various departments at Ottawa. Civil service reform did not reach the "outside service" until 1918.

The second and longer portion of Professor Dawson's volume is devoted to a description and criticism of the Canadian civil service system as it now operates. The author deplores the rigidity of the existing arrangements and intimates that the civil service commission is performing its task in a too narrow spirit. " It definitely rules out academic subjects except in very rare instances, and uses tests on such things as office practice, stenography, bookkeeping, filing systems, etc., while neglecting those subjects which will give prophetic results." In other words Canada is using the American plan of specialized examinations, closely related to the nature of the work which the appointee will be expected to do, rather than the English system of making up the eligible lists from those who have demonstrated the highest scholastic attainments.

The author has given us an excellent monograph on an interesting subject. He has gone into it thoroughly and has put his results together in workmanlike fashion. Throughout the book he displays, moreover, a keen understanding of the way in which the mind of a practical politician functions. And not the least among the merits of the book is its style, which combines fluidity with vigor and flavors well-reasoned argument with occasional touches of satire and humor.

Harvard University. WILLIAM B. MUNRO.

The Encomienda in New Spain: Forced Native Labor in the Spanish Colonies, 1492–1550. By Lesley Byrd Simpson. [University of California Publications in History, XIX.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1929, pp. 297, $3.50.) *The Intendant System in Spanish America.* By Lillian Estelle Fisher, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History in Oklahoma College for Women. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1929, pp. viii, 385, $5.00.) Simpson's thesis is an elaboration of the definition of an encomienda embodied in a cedula of Philip II., namely, that it was a right granted by the Spanish monarch to a conqueror in the Indies to collect tribute from the Indians in his charge and to look after the spiritual and temporal welfare of those aborigines. The author pays little attention to the view that has occasionally been hazarded that an encomienda was concerned with the labor or services of those Indians who were occupying a definite piece of land. He has made a study of the printed sources concerning the management of the aborigines in New Spain, 1492–1550. Among related topics to which some attention is paid is the Indian legislation of Queen Isabella, the laws of Burgos, the propaganda of Las Casas, and the reform movement that culminated in the New Laws. The appendixes contain translations of such useful material as the instructions of Las Casas, a grant of an encomienda, and a letter of Fray Toribio de Motolina to Charles V.

Miss Fisher's volume is largely a legislative history of the intendant in New Spain with considerable attention to other portions of the Spanish Indies. Scarcely anything is said concerning the Franco-Spanish origins of the intendant system. A sketch is, however, furnished of early experiments with intendancies in Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela, and La Plata. Particular attention is paid to the ordinance of intendants for New Spain that was promulgated in 1786 and later applied to Central America and the Philippines. A large part of this study is devoted to the four chief functions of the intendant as prescribed in 1786, namely, justice, general administration, finance, and war. A résumé is furnished of the results of the system. One hundred pages are filled by a translation of the standard ordinance of 1786. An appendix is devoted to a comparison of that ordinance with the ordinance of intendants framed for Buenos Aires in 1786. A six-page bibliography closes the work. Though this list includes mention of inedited documents that the author has consulted, yet it appears that she simply used such copies of papers as had been secured by other students for the Bancroft Library. This monograph should not have been sent to the printer until important documents in the *Archivo General de Indies* had been consulted.

The University of Illinois. WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

THE BUSINESS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The American Historical Association at its last annual meeting adopted, on the recommendation of the Council, a resolution setting forth the urgent need of financial support for a " permanent secretariat ". Comparatively few members, however, are ever present at the business session, and it therefore seems desirable to explain through the *Review* the circumstances under which the Council made its recommendation.

The crux of the present situation is, that the Association has been steadily assuming larger and more complex responsibilities, without as yet developing a working organization adapted to the changed conditions. One important factor to be considered is, of course, the increase in the endowment, which has risen from less than $50,000 five years ago to a total of about $250,000. This is the amount which the committee was originally asked to raise; but, as the canvass proceeded, new possibilities of service became apparent and the sum total proposed was finally advanced to $1,000,000. When the outstanding subscriptions are paid in, the endowment will be approximately $300,000. Though we are still far from the goal set by the Committee, the present result represents a substantial addition to our resources, for which we are deeply indebted to our friends, both within and without the membership of the Association, notably to the late Senator Beveridge, Mrs. Beveridge, and Mrs. Griswold.

With increased resources, however, has come increased responsibility. Within the past three years changes in the policy of the Carnegie Institution in Washington have made it necessary for the Association to assume the full support of the *Review* and to rent independent quarters of its own. It is in many respects desirable that the Association should thus stand on its own feet; but, for the time being, the additional charges upon the budget have offset a substantial part of the increased income from endowment funds—the greater part, in fact, of the funds available for general purposes. Meantime the wise use of such funds as the Beveridge Fund and the Littleton-Griswold Fund, set apart for research in American history, requires careful planning and emphasizes the need of an effective central organization.

The financial responsibility of the Association is not confined to the income from endowments and membership dues. Having acquired a reputation for the effective use of limited funds, the Association has recently received a number of special grants in support of enterprises which it now has in hand. The largest of these grants have come from the Carnegie Corporation which is financing the very important Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools; it has also provided a " revolving fund" for our new series of publications. Other grants which the Association has undertaken to administer are those from the American Council of Learned Societies, for the Bibliography of American Travel; and from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation, for the International Committee of Historical Sciences. The credit of the Association is, of course, deeply involved in the best possible use of these funds.

The grant from the Council of Learned Societies illustrates an important phase of coöperative scholarship in which the American Historical Association, as one of the oldest and best established of our learned societies, may fairly be expected to take a leading part. Members of the Association, notably Mr. Jameson, Mr. Haskins, and Mr. Leland, were largely responsible for the formation of the A.C.L.S.; other colleagues have been similarly active in another quasi-federal organization, the Social Science Research Council. We are evidently entering upon a new development in which the councils just named, their constituent societies devoted to particular subjects, and the research organizations of the universities will all have their share. Precisely what should be the function of the Association in relation to the other agencies mentioned is a problem which has already been seriously considered by members of the Council; but they can not deal with it satisfactorily without more general advice and coöperation, particularly from their younger colleagues; it is to the latter especially that we must look for the carrying on in the future of whatever policies may now be adopted.

Little need be said here of the more familiar services of the Association, including the *Review*, which must not only be maintained but advanced to higher levels. To take only one example, the Historical Manuscripts Commission, in coöperation with other groups, has before it the possibility of a large-scale survey of manuscript materials for American history. In all these ways the responsibilities of the Association, already large, are steadily expanding; and, since most of the service rendered by officers and committees is freely given, the scale of our operations is much greater than the sum total of budget items would indicate.

A Permanent Secretariat. Meantime it has become quite clear that the present organization of the Association is not adequate to the new demands made upon it. First of all, there is the imperative need of an efficient central executive. The interests entrusted to our charge are too important to be directed without a concentration of responsibility such as does not now exist. The two elected officers who in practice serve for considerable periods of time, are the secretary and the treasurer; but both these officers have primary obligations outside of the Association. Neither can reasonably be expected to give more than a small part of his time to the work of his office. Some of the executive responsibility has been shared, during the past three years, by the *Ad Interim* Committee of the Council; but there is no one of these officers whose first duty is to the Association—to initiate the discussion of its policies, to become widely acquainted with its personnel, and to give the direction necessary to insure the carrying through of projects undertaken. It was such an officer that the Council had in mind in asking for the increase of endowment necessary to finance a "permanent secretariat". For this purpose we should have an additional annual income of *at least* $10,000; preferably from an increased endowment or, in default of that, by a subvention for a period of years. Once we have such a central office, efficiently administered, we may confidently look forward to new forms of fruitful service, with the funds necessary to finance such service. Without this reënforcement we shall hardly do justice to the responsibilities already assumed, not to speak of new undertakings.

The Constitution of the Association. Aside from the new secretariat, already accepted in principle by the Association, certain other changes of organization may well be considered. It is evident that the general business session can not be counted on for adequate discussion of policies; the attendance is too limited and the varied programs of our annual meetings make it difficult to secure attention for general interests. The action of the Association as a whole must, for the most part, be limited to the election of officers and of the Council, to the approval of by-laws, and the adoption of constitutional amendments. The main responsibility, even more than in the past, must rest with the Council and its committees which should therefore be made as representative as possible.

The Council. This brings up the question of the constitution of the Council. The voting membership now consists of the president, the two vice-presidents, the secretary, and the treasurer—all *ex officio*; eight annually elected members of whom two or three ordinarily retire each year; and three ex-presidents. In practice, this does not insure a proper representation of the working membership of the Association. In 1929, for instance, only three members outside of the *Ad Interim* Committee attended both sessions; for proper consideration of important questions the Council relied largely upon the informal attendance of other colleagues familiar with Association problems. In view of this situation, it is proposed that the make-up of the Council be modified as follows: (1) Retain the five officers as *ex officio* members. (2) Increase the number of elective councillors to twenty, in order to secure a fuller representation of the active membership. (3) Provide that members of the Council be normally elected for four-year terms, one fourth retiring every year; members who complete a four-year term to be reëligible after one year. (4) The ex-presidents, though not *ex officio* members, may, as hitherto, be included in invitations to Council meetings. (5) The Council should meet once a year, with an additional meeting at its discretion. It is believed that the proposed changes will make it possible to draw out more of the capable younger men, and at the same time prevent the premature loss to the Council of some of its most useful members.

The Executive Committee. Experience has shown that, even with the present smaller membership of the Council, much of its business must be delegated to a smaller group. Three years ago the *Ad Interim* Committee was constituted for this purpose, and it now consists of six members: the president, the secretary, the treasurer, two other members of the Council, and one member chosen from the Association at large. This arrangement might well be definitely recognized in the Constitution or by-laws somewhat as follows: (1) The Council should choose annually an Executive, or *Ad Interim*, Committee of eight members. This increase in membership is proposed in view of the important questions which it has been found necessary for this smaller group to decide, including in the past three years the choice of a managing editor for the *Review* and an acting secretary of the Association, besides the incurring of a considerable budget charge for the rental of the new offices in Washington. (2) In the intervals between Council meetings, the Executive Committee should, subject to the general direction of the Council, be responsible for the management of Association interests and the carrying out of Association policies. (3) The Executive Committee should have authority to choose the "Permanent", or Executive, Secretary. The "Secretary of the Association" should be elected as at present.

It need hardly be said that the proposals here made are quite unofficial and are offered only as a basis for discussion. They will serve their purpose if they help to focus attention on the pressing need of adjustment to the new conditions. The organization of the secretariat is largely a question of securing the necessary financial support and members who have suggestions as to ways and means may appropriately send them to the present chairman of the Endowment Committee, Dr. C. B. Coleman, State House, Indianapolis. In any case, it is hoped that members generally will realize that the future prosperity of the Association depends largely upon their own contribution to its counsels.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The International Committee of Historical Sciences, in the formation of which the American Historical Association had an important part, and in the maintenance of which a subvention to the Association from the Rockefeller Foundation still plays an essential rôle, held its first meeting, for organization, in Geneva, in May, 1926. Since then it has met annually, in Göttingen, Oslo, Venice, and England. The fifth and latest of these meetings, and in some respects the most notable, was divided between Cambridge, London, and Oxford, on the last day of April and the first days of May. The time was marked by clear skies and bright, if not warm, sunshine, and under the conditions the Cambridge "backs" and the Oxford "quads" were at their best, and the garden party of the Royal Historical Society could be held in the gardens of Russell Square, a circumstance which a visitor from Washington may perhaps be permitted to note.

The British Committee, in the work of which Messrs. Temperley and Crawley of Cambridge, Pollard and Parsloe of London, and Powicke and Galbraith of Oxford, had a most helpful share, spared no effort to make the occasion a notable one. Generous hospitalities there were, receptions, luncheons, teas, dinners, offered by the Vice-Chancellors of Cambridge and Oxford, the History Faculty at Cambridge, the Master of Trinity, the Royal Institute of International Affairs at London, the Institute of Historical Research, the Royal Historical Society, and the Rhodes Trustees. A dinner to members of the Committee was offered by the Government with Lord Thomson presiding. Finally came the granting of honorary degrees of Doctor of Letters. At Cambridge Professors Koht (Norway), de Sanctis (Italy), Glotz (France), Brandi (Germany), Altamira (Spain), and Pirenne (Belgium), were thus honored, and at Oxford, Professors Dembinski (Poland), Dopsch (Austria), and Jorga (Roumania). A severe disappointment was the inability of Dr. J. F. Jameson to be present to receive the degree which would have been conferred upon him had he been there.

In the midst of so many distractions the annual assembly of the Committee ran some risk of being transferred from a purely business meeting into something midway between a congress without scientific papers, and a festival. Happily the Committee was able to hold four full services, the Governing Board held three meetings, and the subcommittees devoted to the various enterprises of the International Committee held their respective meetings in due course. Twenty-five countries were represented by delegates, those from the United States being Monsignor George Lacombe and the writer, while Canada was represented by Professor Reginald G. Trotter, and Brazil and Chile by their respective ambassadors to Great Britain who are also titular members of the International Committee. There were also present at the meetings thirty-four members of subcommittees.

The work of the sessions can be summarized briefly. Two new countries, Latvia and British India, were admitted to representation, raising to thirty-six the total number of countries participating in the work of the International Committee, while tentative overtures were received from Egypt and the Irish Free State. It was decided to publish in the *Bulletin* the *voeux* or resolutions adopted by the international congresses of historical sciences, since their origin in 1898. While most of these are now merely records of pious hopes, their compilation will permit an interesting picture of historical desiderata as formulated from time to time during the last thirty years. Of new enterprises the Committee decided to undertake the following: the compilation of a descriptive bibliography of the "colonial books" issued by the various governments, since perhaps about 1850; the preparation of a list of the historical catalogues of graduates of the great universities; an inquiry into the regulations respecting scientific research in the archives of the various countries; a bibliography of the inventories, guides, reports of missions, etc., which present the results of explorations in the archives of the different countries for the purpose of locating materials relating to the history of other countries than those to which the archives belong; and a bibliography with tables of contents of the *mélanges, festschriften,* and similar collections published in honor of individual scholars.

Some progress was reported on the enterprises already under way, particularly the list of diplomatic agents, the catalogue of constitutions, of which the first volume will soon be ready for publication. The first volume (1926) of the *International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography,* the most important undertaking of the Committee, was reported as being in proof and upon the point of publication.

Finally, much attention was devoted to preliminary plans of a general sort for the next International Congress, which is to be held in Warsaw in 1933, probably in August. It is hoped that at Warsaw the discussions may be more definitely oriented towards certain general and important subjects, that the number of communications may be greatly reduced, and the quality of those that are presented correspondingly improved, and that tedious formal sessions where half a dozen papers, each far too long, are read, may be avoided.

The next annual meeting of the International Committee will be held in Budapest about May 18, 1931.

W. G. L.

PERSONAL

Claude H. Van Tyne, since 1906 professor of American history in the University of Michigan, died at Ann Arbor on March 15, at the age of 60. Educated at that university and by graduate work at Heidelberg, Leipzig, Paris, and the University of Pennsylvania, he published in 1902 his first book, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution.* The theme was congenial to his generous temper and his amused contempt for chauvinism, and its general field became permanently that of his chief interest. He pursued it further in *The American Revolution* (1908), a volume of the American Nation series; in various valued articles in this journal; in *England and America, Rivals in the American Revolution* (1927), the Sir George Watson Lectures at the British universities; and, most elaborately of all, in the two volumes which, to universal regret, are all that he lived to finish in what was to be the main work of his life, his *History of the Founding of the American Republic.* Those two volumes, *The Causes of the War of Independence* (1921) and *The War of Independence, American Phase* (1929), written with unrivalled fullness of knowledge and all the resources of the Clements Library, with consummate fairness, and in a most engaging style, have immediately taken an exceedingly high place in American historical literature.

Before beginning his teaching in the University of Michigan, Dr. Van Tyne had edited the *Letters of Daniel Webster* (1902) and had coöperated in preparing the Carnegie Institution's *Guide to the Archives in Washington.* In 1921–1922 he visited India and in the next year produced *India in Ferment,* a book of extraordinary interest, which astonishes the reader by the rapidity with which he seized the essentials and the power and insight with which he depicts the varied aspects of Indian political life.

Besides being an ardent student and a man of wide reading and cultivation, Professor Van Tyne was a brilliant and captivating teacher, an enterprising and considerate manager of his academic department, an influential counselor in his university, a clever and incisive speaker in public. In private he was genial and hospitable, a man of the highest sense of honor, cordial and steadfast in friendship, perfect in every family relation, a gallant and lovable soul.

Justin H. Smith, historian and traveler, died on March 21, at the age of 73. Not long after his graduation from Dartmouth College he entered the house of Ginn and Company, in which he remained till 1898. From 1899 to 1908 he was professor of Modern European history in Dartmouth College. A cultivated student of literature and an excellent linguist, he published in 1899 his first book, on *The Troubadours at Home.* The second, *Arnold's March from Cambridge to Quebec* (1903), naturally led to an important work on *Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony* (1907), a study of the relations of the American

Revolution to Canada. Then he turned to the history of our Mexican War, and, after studies of almost unexampled thoroughness and care, in the archives of the United States, Mexico, Great Britain, France, and Spain, and in all other available materials, produced in 1911, as a *Vorschrift,* a volume on *The Annexation of Texas.* Few books of history have more decisively settled controversy on their subject. Similar was the impression made by the ensuing volumes on *The War with Mexico* (1919), which immediately took rank as one of our standard histories, marked by abounding knowledge, complete objectivity, and attractive style. A traveler in all the continents, Dr. Smith made friends everywhere by his constant urbanity, by the charm of his conversation, and by his unfailing and generous kindness.

By the death of Dr. William F. T. Butler, which took place on February 13, at the age of 61, Irish historical studies have sustained a severe loss. Dr. Butler devoted himself especially to researches regarding the various "Plantations" or English colonizations in Ireland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and their results. His best known work is *Confiscation in Irish History* (1917). In 1927 he published *Gleanings from Irish History.* His articles on historical subjects, in such periodicals as *Studies* and the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, are very numerous. As a scholar, he was most painstaking.

Among European historians who died recently are: Maxime Bruchet (November, 1929), the French archivist, who edited for the collection on the Economic History of the Revolution the volume on the *Abolition des Droits Seigneuriaux en Savoie* and whose latest work was *Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchesse de Savoie*; Alexandre Bugge (December), the distinguished Norwegian historian, who had written especially upon the origins of Norway and upon its relations with England; Rudolph Häpke (January), a disciple of Dietrich Schäfer, who edited the *Niederländische Akten und Urkunden zur Geschichte der Hanse und zur Deutschen Seegeschichte,* and among other works wrote *Die Regierung Karls V. und der Europäische Norden*; Paul Joachimsen (January), who contributed to the volume of the Propyläen-Weltgeschichte on the Reformation; Otto Cartellieri (May), author of *Am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund*; Adolf von Harnack (June), the distinguished historian of the church.

It is a source of great satisfaction to record that the Pulitzer Prize of $2000 for the best book of the year on the history of the United States has been awarded to *The War of Independence,* by the late Claude H. Van Tyne.

To the two volumes of *Mélanges d'Histoire Littéraire, Générale et Comparée* (Paris, Champion, 1930), offered to the distinguished French historian of literature, Fernand Baldensperger, Professor Gilbert Chinard, of Johns Hopkins, and Professor Albert Schinz, of the University of

Pennsylvania, have contributed, the former a biographical sketch of John Davis, who wrote *Walter Kennedy, an American Tale,* 1808, borrowing freely from Chateaubriand. Professor Schniz wrote upon Du Succès et de la Durée en Littérature, à propos de J. J. Rousseau.

Among the grants-in-aid by the American Council of Learned Societies are: Louise F. Brown, Vassar College, for a study of the ideas of the first Earl of Shaftesbury; Charles W. David, Bryn Mawr College, for a study and edition of *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (1147); William Arthur Heidel, Wesleyan University, for a study of Egyptian influence upon Greek scientific thought; Arthur W. Hummel, Library of Congress, for a translation of Ku Chieh-kang's compilation, symposium on Ancient Chinese History (*Ku Shih Pien*); George Lacombe, Catholic University of America, for rotographs of MSS. of Cardinal Langton and Prepositinus, and of Harleian 658; Hugh MacKenzie, University of Rochester, for a study of the activities of papal envoys in England before 1327; D. W. H. Marshall, University of Manitoba, for *Regesta Regum Scotorum, 1094–1304*; Bertha H. Putnam, Mount Holyoke College, for a study of early proceedings before justices of the peace, 1327–1485; Edith Marion Smith, Hollins College, for a study of the relations of the Phocean colony Massilia with the peoples of Gaul; James F. Willard, University of Colorado, for a study of the taxation of personal property in England, 1290–1334; Mary Louise Foster, Smith College, for a study of alchemy in Spain; C. Bradford Welles, Yale University, for a study of the letters, preserved in inscriptions, of the Hellenistic kings, Antigonus, Lysimachus, the Seleucids and Attalids, and the smaller dynasties of Asia Minor. A fellowship has been granted to Ernest William Nelson, Duke University, for a general history of the latter half of the fifteenth century in Europe.

The Social Science Research Council has made the following additional grants-in-aid for work in the historical field: Edward Berman, University of Illinois, for publication of his study entitled "Labor and the Sherman Act"; Vera Lee Brown, Smith College, for completion of her book entitled "The Relations of England and Spain as New World Powers in the Eighteenth Century"; Rowland Hill Harvey, University of California at Los Angeles, for completion of a biography of Samuel Gompers in relation to the American Labor Movement; Louis C. Hunter, Smith College, for completion of his study entitled "An Economic and Social History of Steamboat Transportation on the Western Rivers of the United States"; Jakob A. O. Larson, Ohio State University, for completion of his study entitled "Representative Government in Greek and Roman History"; Arthur R. M. Lower, Wesley College, Winnipeg, Canada, for completion of the collection and editing of a series of documents illustrative of the economic and social history of Canada from 1783; Chester William New, McMaster University, for completion of his biography of Lord Brougham; George Bernard Noble, Reed College, for completion of his study entitled "French Opinion in Relation to American Policy at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919"; Charles William Ramsdell, University of Texas, for completion of his study entitled "The Economic Administrative History of the Southern Confederacy"; Thad Weed Riker, University of Texas, for completion of his study entitled "The Making of Roumania: a Study of an International Problem, 1856–1866"; James Alexander Robertson, John B. Stetson University, for completion of his study entitled "The Legislative Records of British West Florida and Allied Documents, 1763–1783"; Charles Callan Tansill, American University, for completion of study entitled "A Monograph on the Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Denmark relative to the Purchase of the Virgin Islands"; Norman Joseph Ware, Wesleyan University, for completion of his history of the Labor Movement in the United States since 1895; Waldemar Westergaard, University of California at Los Angeles, for completion of his documentary study of Scandinavian-Russian relations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; Johannes Cornelis Westermann, fellow, on the Netherland-American Foundation, for completion of his study entitled "The Relations between the United States and the Netherlands in the Nineteenth Century"; Irene Aloha Wright, American Embassy, Spain, for completion of her study entitled "The Dutch in the Caribbean, 1620–1648".

Among those to whom the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation awarded fellowships in March are: Viola F. Barnes, Mt. Holyoke College, for a study of England's colonial policy, particularly in relation to Massachusetts; Eugene H. Byrne, University of Wisconsin, to prepare a book on commercial custom and practice in the Middle Ages; Walter S. Campbell, of the University of Oklahoma, to make a study of the Plains Indians, and write a biography of Sitting Bull; Sister Mary Aquinas Devlin, Rosary College, to edit the sermons of Bishop Thomas Brunton, Court preacher during the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II., and to study from unpublished records the life of Bishop Brunton; Brynjolf J. Hovde, University of Pittsburgh, to prepare a study of Scandinavian social and economic history; Henry D. Jordan, Dartmouth College, to prepare a study of the English newspaper press, with particular relation to expansion between 1853 and 1865; John T. Lanning, Duke University, to study the universities of the Hispanic colonies of the New World, with special reference to their place in the development of the Hispanic mind and culture and in the preliminaries of the wars of independence; Owen Lattimore, explorer and writer, to gather materials in Central Asia for a book to be entitled "Frontiers of Inner Asia", dealing with present conditions in Manchuria and Chinese Turkestan with special reference to their historical and geographical background; Reginald C. McGrane, University of Cincinnati, to make an investigation of British investments in the United States, 1830 to 1860; Richard A. Newhall, Williams College, to prepare a study of the military and financial phases of the Hundred Years' War; Josiah C. Russell, New Mexico Normal University, to collect biographical data concerning the writers of thirteenth century England; N. J. Spykman, Yale University, to make a study of Asiatic nationalism viewed as stimulated by the penetration of Euro-American culture in areas of different culture; Charles H. Wesley, Howard University, to study negro slavery and apprenticeship in the British West Indies, 1807 to 1838.

The following promotions may be noted: *Harvard University,* Frederick Merk to be associate professor, J. A. C. F. Auer to be professor of Church history; *Brown University,* J. B. Botsford to be associate professor; *Yale University,* K. Asakawa to be associate professor, W. H. Dunham, S. McC. Pargellis, and Sidney Painter, to be assistant professors; *New York University,* H. S. Commager to be associate professor, W. F. Craven, W. K. Ferguson, Huntington Hill, and R. G. Louisburg, to be assistant professors; *Cornell University,* F. G. Marcham to be professor; *Princeton University,* C. R. Hall to be professor, R. J. Sontag to be associate professor, W. L. Wright to be assistant professor; *University of Pennsylvania,* R. F. Nichols to be professor, W. W. Hyde to be professor of Greek and Ancient history; *University of Virginia,* F. Stringfellow Barr to be professor; *University of Pittsburgh,* W. J. Martin to be assistant professor; *Western Reserve University,* Jacob C. Meyer to be associate professor; *University of Minnesota,* D. H. Willson and Harold Deutsch to be assistant professors; *University of Missouri,* Jesse E. Wrench to be professor; *University of Nebraska,* G. W. Gray to be assistant professor; *University of Oregon,* Andrew Fish to be associate professor.

There are interesting changes in university connection to be recorded: *Bowdoin College,* E. C. Kirkland, of Brown University, to be professor; *University of Vermont,* P. D. Evans, of Yale University, to be professor; *Harvard University,* A. D. Nock, of Clare College, Cambridge, to be Frothingham Professor of the History of Religion; *Smith College,* V. A. Scramuzza, of Harvard and Wellesley, to be assistant professor; *Cornell University,* Carl Stephenson, of the University of Wisconsin, to be professor of Medieval history, A. P. Whitaker, of Western Reserve University, to be professor of American history; *Johns Hopkins University,* K. R. Greenfield, of Yale University, to be professor of Modern European history, W. S. Holt, of George Washington University, to be associate in American history; *University of Virginia,* T. P. Abernethy, of the University of Alabama, to be associate professor; *University of Pittsburgh,* O. W. Elsbree, of Yale University, to be assistant professor; *Western Reserve University,* A. C. Cole, of Ohio State University, to be professor, R. C. Binckley, of Smith College, to be acting professor; *Ohio State University,* W. L. Dorn, of Wisconsin University, to be professor; *University of Michigan,* V. W. Crane, of Brown University, to be professor, D. L. DuMond, of Ohio Wesleyan University, to be assistant professor; *University of Wisconsin,* C. V. Easum, of Culver Military Academy, to be assistant professor; *University of Minnesota,* A. L. Burt, of the University of Alberta, to be professor; *Colorado College,* C. B. Malone, of Miami University, to be professor.

The following visiting professorships or lectureships may be noted: *Harvard University,* Halvdan Koht, of the University of Oslo, F. B. Artz, of Oberlin; *Brown University,* J. B. Hedges, of Clark; *Yale University,* A. B. White, of Minnesota, for the year, and C. H. McIlwain, of Harvard, for the second half; *Columbia University,* W. L. Langer, of Harvard, for the spring session, A. J. Nock (in St. Stephens College); *Duke University,* Dorothy L. Mackay, of West Virginia; *University of Minnesota,* C. C. Crawford, of Kansas; *University of Nebraska,* J. L. Sellers, of Wisconsin.

Leaves of absence have been granted as follows: *Harvard University,* W. L. Langer for the year; *Amherst College,* L. B. Packard for the second half; *Smith College,* W. D. Gray for the year; *Yale University,* Wallace Notestein, G. E. Woodbine, M. I. Rostovtzeff, for the year; *Columbia University,* C. J. H. Hayes for the year, D. S. Muzzey for the spring session; *University of Pennsylvania,* W. E. Lingelbach for the first semester; *University of Pittsburgh,* N. A. N. Cleven and B. J. Hovde; *University of North Carolina,* M. B. Garrett for the fall quarter. W. E. Caldwell for the winter and spring quarters; *University of West Virginia,* Dorothy L. Mackay for the year; *Michigan University,* H. W. Ehrmann for the year; *University of Chicago,* Godfrey Davies for the year; *Wisconsin University,* Carl R. Fish for the second half, James L. Sellers for the year; *University of Minnesota,* A. C. Krey for the year; *University of Iowa,* W. R. Livingston for the first half; *University of Nebraska,* Glenn W. Gray for the year; *University of Colorado,* J. F. Willard for the year.

Several of those given leaves of absence have received special grants for research, as stated elsewhere. It may also be noted that Professor Notestein will be in London engaged in editing seventeenth century parliamentary diaries. He will serve on the Parliamentary Committee appointed by the prime minister to study the history of the personnel of Parliament from 1264 to 1832. Professor Rostovtzeff will continue his investigations in classical history, spending a considerable time in Dura-Europas. Professor Woodbine will devote the year to his edition of Bracton. Professor Cleven is to work in the libraries of Spain and Portugal. Professor Garrett is to continue his studies of the organization of the Estates General, 1787–1789. Professor Caldwell will visit Egypt and Greece to study recent archæological discoveries in those countries. Professor Davies is to work in the Huntington Library. Professor Krey is to devote the year to the work of the Commission on the Social Sciences and History.

Further appointments for summer sessions may be noted: *University of Alabama,* L. B. Schmidt, of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts; *University of Tennessee,* W. O. Lynch, of Indiana University, V. A. Moody, of Iowa State University, W. N. Franklin, of Southern Methodist University, W. B. Hesselstine, of the University of Chattanooga; *University of Missouri,* L. H. Jenks, of Rollins College, L. M. Sears, of Purdue University, F. A. Culmer, of Central College; *University of Kansas,* G. H. Ryden, of the University of Delaware; *University of Southern California,* C. F. Huth, of the University of Chicago, O. G. Libby, of the University of North Dakota; *University of Washington,* R. M. Robbins, of Western Reserve University.

C. A. Duniway, of Carleton College, is to spend the year 1930–1931 in Australia and Japan as Carnegie Visiting Professor.

John R. Bacher, of the University of Pennsylvania, has accepted the position of resident director of the new American section of the Cité Universitaire at Paris (Fondation des États-Unis de la Cité Universitaire).

W. K. Boyd, of Duke University, has been appointed Director of Libraries in that university.

GENERAL

A Pan-American Congress of History and Geography was held at Seville on May 3–9 under distinguished auspices, King Alfonso presiding over the first session. Many interesting papers were read. The United States was represented by Miss Irene A. Wright, to whom a place of honor was given on the program.

At a meeting of the Société d'Histoire Moderne on February 2 Bernard Faÿ explained the situation of historical studies in the United States, describing their extraordinary development since 1917 and attributing the high position in public esteem which history holds in part to "l'action patiente et efficace" of the American Historical Association. There are elements of the situation not so favorable. He finds the departments of history unable to cure the student of his obsession with contemporary problems or to insist upon his becoming adequately equipped with knowledge of foreign languages, living or dead. He also deplores the fact that American scholars do not present with sufficient sympathy the French thesis on the origins of the World War.

The tangle of international questions which hampers the success of disarmament efforts furnishes the themes for the tenth session of the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, July 31–August 28. The round table discussions of particular interest to historical students are: Intervention and Arbitration in Latin America, which will be conducted by Jesse S. Reeves, of the University of Michigan; the Far Eastern Situation, by George H. Blakeslee, of Clark University; and Recent Economic Progress in Europe, by Edwin F. Gay, of Harvard University. Among the lecturers from Europe will be Lord Eustace Percy, Paul Mantoux, and Walter Simons.

The fourth Institute of Public Affairs is to open at the University of Virginia on August 3 and to continue until the 16th. Of the eight round tables, one will be concerned with Latin-American relations and will be conducted by Clarence H. Haring, of Harvard University. Among the other speakers will be J. Fred Rippy, of Duke University, and W. S. Robertson, of the University of Illinois.

In the *Catholic Historical Review* for April Leo F. Stock, under the title of Catholic Participation in the Diplomacy of the Southern Confederacy, gives an account of the efforts made especially by Father Bannon, of St. Louis, and Bishop Lynch, of Charleston, to win the sympathies of Ireland for the Southern cause. Father Bannon had served as chaplain to the Missouri troops under General Price. The forms of propaganda which he employed after he reached Ireland were no more inspired by the spirit of truthfulness than those used during the recent war. Apparently they were ineffective. The other articles are the Lateran Concordat with Italy, by Philip Bernadini, Popular Church Building in Medieval France, by Hewitt B. Vinnedge, and the Reformation at Cambridge, by Lawrence K. Patterson. There is also an account of the tenth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association.

The notable *Histoire de l'Art,* directed by André Michel, has now been completed. Part 3 of tome VIII. has as its title *L'Art en Europe et en Amérique au XIX^e Siècle et au Début du XX^e*, and is divided into two volumes (Paris, Colin, 1930, 120 fr.) of which the second is a general index of the whole work.

In the *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, for January is printed for the first time a manuscript the contents of which call for a revision of opinion in regard to the deposition of Richard II. This manuscript is the original of which a fragment was attached many years ago by Benjamin Williams as an appendix to the *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richard Deux.* It was discovered in the collection of Gray's Inn MSS. The editors of the manuscript, M. V. Clarke and V. H. Galbraith, both of Oxford, discuss its authorship and indicate some of the problems which it raises. The same number contains also Fasciculus 6 of the Woodbrooke Studies, a facsimile of an Arabic manuscript of the *Apocalypse of Peter,* with a translation and discussion by A. Mingana.

Two volumes have been added to the "New Library": *Early Christianity and its Rivals,* by G. H. Box, of the University of London, and *The Inquisition,* by G. G. Coulton, of St. John's College, Cambridge (New York, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1929, pp. each 128, 60 cts.). The first is better described by its sub-title, for it is a study of the *Conflict of Religions* rather than an account of early Christianity. Mr. Coulton's treatment of the Inquisition is especially valuable because it presents within brief compass the conclusions of modern scholarship. The author has little sympathy for the apologists of this redoubtable institution. He feels that even heretics like the Catharists were not a serious menace to society, and he is convinced that the inquisitors were quite as eager to lay hold on the property of rich heretics as to guard the fold against the contagion of heresy.

The South Sea Company is more often remembered as companion piece to the Mississippi Bubble than for its handling of the Assiento. It is with this latter aspect of its affairs that Professor Elizabeth Donnan deals in the *Journal of Economic and Business History* for May. Miss Donnan shows that the terms of the contract which were first offered the company were so burdensome as to make the directors unwilling to sign it—one fourth of the profits to the King of Spain, another fourth to the Queen of England, and seven and one half per cent. to a go-between possessed of the impressive name of Manuel Manassas Gilligan. Eventually Queen Anne turned over her percentage to the company, and yet it seems happily doubtful whether the company ever made any money out of this odious traffic. Another article, by Kenneth W. Porter, with the title of John Jacob Astor and the Sandlewood Trade, tells the story of Astor's ships and agents in the Pacific trade from 1816 to 1828. Still another, by Louis C. Hunter, discusses the Financial Problems of the Early Pittsburgh Iron Manufacturers.

Joseph J. Williams, S.J., in *Hebrewisms of West Africa* (New York, MacVeagh, 1930, $7.50) has proposed the solution of an interesting problem. A five years' residence in Jamaica brought him into contact with negroes who evidently differed from all the other negro types which he had observed. Many of the Jamaica negroes were Koromantyns, including the more familiar Ashanti. It was the character of the differences that led the author to study at once the West African negro and the Hebrew dispersion with the result that he has found many traces of Hebrew influence among the unislamised tribes. He concludes that the " Supreme Being not only of the Ashanti and allied tribes, but most probably of the whole Negro land as well . . . is the Yahweh of the Hebrews, and that too of pre-exilic times ". The volume is provided with an extensive bibliography.

Important items in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1 Heft, 1930, are an article by Gerhard Alberty analyzing the philosophical and religious thought of Gotthilf Samuel Steinburt (1738–1809), who won the victory for the *Aufklärung* in the University of Frankfurt on the Order; a review by Gustav Krüger of Friedrich Loofs's work on *Theophilus von Antiochien adverus Marcionem und die anderen Theologischen Quellen bei Irenaeus* (1930)—a work which may modify our history of early Christian doctrine; and a survey by Berthold Altaner of recent literature on Mediaeval Religious Orders.

The Second International Congress of the History of Science and Technology is announced to take place in London in July, 1931. It is the particular desire of the President of the Congress that its work should be linked with that of the general historian. The headquarters is at the Science Museum, South Kensington, London, S.W. 7, and further particulars can be obtained from the Hon. Sec. Mr. H. W. Dickinson.

An International Congress for Historical Geography is to be held at Brussels on August 11–14. Professor Henri Pirenne, of Ghent University, is the Honorary President. Inquiries may be sent to the General Secretary, 3, Avenue Saint-Augustin, Forest-Bruxelles.

The *New Era* (London) for April is devoted to the Teaching of History, the contributors including such familiar names as G. P. Gooch, Alfred Zimmern, D. C. Knowlton, and Hendrik Van Loon. It commemorates the end of the first decade in the life of the League of Nations. Beginning with July this magazine, now published in fourteen countries besides England, is to be a monthly.

The paper of Professor Avery O. Craven, The South in American History, read before the Illinois State History Teachers' Conference in November, is printed in the March number of the *Historical Outlook*. According to him there should be a wider inclusion of Southern facts in the story and a clearer understanding of the fundamental features of the South, past and present; yet "a Southern slant will be as dangerous as a New England bias". Neither geographically nor otherwise has the South ever possessed the oneness usually ascribed to it. In the same issue Professor A. Curtis Wilgus, of the University of South Carolina, discusses the New Interest in the Teaching and Study of Hispanic-American History. The April number contains three discussions of the Problems of Teaching History in College, given at the North Carolina meeting of the Association by A. H. Noyes, Witt Bowden, and Harry J. Carman. The contents of the May issue include a description by W. T. Morgan of the political situation in Great Britain, an article by H. B. Vinnedge on the Children's Crusade: Popular Hysteria in the Middle Ages; and a discussion by W. P. Webb of the question Are there Prime Factors in History?

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Edwin F. Gay, *Historical Records* [Presidential address before the American Economic Association, American Statistical Association, and American Sociological Society, Washington, December 28, 1929] (American Economic Review, Mar.; Scientific Monthly, Apr.); Herbert Heaton, *Stages in Economic History* (American Economic Review Supplement, Mar.); Henri Sée, *La Philosophie de l'Histoire de Herder* [importance of natural environment; notion of human development; action of God in history] (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLVIII.); Raffaello Morghen, *Il Tramonto della Potenza Sveva e la Piu' Recente Storiografia* (Nuova Antologia, Mar. 16); J. H. Landman, *Primitive Law, Evolution, and Sir Henry Sumner Maine* (Washington Law Review, Feb.).

ANCIENT HISTORY

C. Leonard Woolley, director of the joint archæological expedition maintained at Ur by the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the British Museum, announced on May 11 the fortuitous discovery of a temple built by Nebuchadnezzar about 600 B.C. It had become advisable for "topographical reasons" to dig in a particular mound. In this mound the explorers found the temple, with walls twenty feet high, and so well preserved that the whitewash on them was still in good condition. Mr. Woolley remarked that "This is the only place in Iraq where one can stand in a Babylonian temple and forget that it is a ruin".

The Greek Tradition in Sculpture, by Walter Raymond Agard (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1930, pp. x, 59, 34 full-page illustrations, $3.00) is a remarkably successful attempt to define the nature of Greek sculpture, to trace its development in technique and in its æsthetic appeal, to show how it changed in the time of the Roman Empire, and how its influence has been felt in later periods. The pages dealing with Rodin, Meunier, Maillot, and Bourdelle are especially good. In such a book, however, categorical statements not undeniably and demonstrably true should be avoided. The frontispiece is entitled "The Athena Lemnia, from an original by Phidias". Furtwängler's conjecture that the marble head in Bologna is a copy of the head of the bronze Athena Lemnia may well hit the truth, but it is not accepted by all archæologists, nor would all agree that "Phidias . . . was chiefly known for his Zeus at Olympia, his Athena Parthenos and his Athena Lemnia" (page 3). What about the colossal bronze Athena? Again (page 14) the expression "Phidias' designs for the Parthenon", with reference to the decorative sculptures, assumes too much. There is no direct ancient authority for the statement that Phidias designed those sculptures, and many (if not most) archæologists believe that they should be ascribed to at least two artists. H. N. F.

The French School at Athens has initiated a new series of publications, to include essays and memoirs by the professors and even foreign members of the School. The first contribution is on the ancient language of Laconia and is made by André Mirambel. Another work of interest in this connection is R. M. Dawkins, ed., *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta: Excavated and Described by Members of the British School at Athens* [issued by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in celebration of its fiftieth anniversary] (London, Macmillan, £5 5 s.).

The study of *Ambrosius von Mailand als Kirchenpolitiker* by Hans von Campenhausen, fasc. 12 of the Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, edited by E. Hirsch and H. Lietzmann (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1929, pp. xv, 220), deals particularly with his internal ecclesiastical policy before the death of Gratian and his relations with the civil power after that event.

Articles of interest: Amelja Hertz, *Das Alter der Gräberfunde von Ur* [the third millennium, date set by Christian and Weidner, is much too early] (Klio, XXIII. 3); Harry J. Leon, *New Material about the Jews of Ancient Rome* (Jewish Quarterly Review, Apr.); Adolf Schulten, *Die Etrusker in Spanien* [study of place-names; Tartessos probably founded 1150 B.C.] (Klio, XXIII. 3); G. Patroni, *La Struttura a Cupola in Etruria* (*ibid.*); Michael Rostovtzeff, *L'Empereur Tibère et le Culte Impérial* [ceremonies in honor of the deified emperor Tiberius and his family at Gythion; his tacit approval] (Revue Historique, Jan.).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

In *Speculum* are two articles which have an appeal beyond the confines of the medieval field: King Alfred's North: a Study in Mediaeval Geography, by K. Malone, and The People and Public Opinion in the Eleventh Century Peace Movement, by L. C. Mackinney. An article of a more specialized character is Der Traktat de Errore Pelagii des Wilhelm von Auvergne, [in German] with textual excerpts, by A. Landgraf. The "Notes" are: Some Recent Studies on the *Pastourelle,* by W. P. Jones; the Triple Death in the Vita Merlini, by J. J. Parry; and The Mediaeval Organ and a Cassiodorus Glossary among the Spurious Works of Bede, by M. L. W. Laistner.

Études Franciscaines (Mar.) includes a Bulletin which continues the important bibliography of Franciscan studies started in earlier issues.

An important addition to the materials useful for the study of fourteenth century administrative institutions in the duchy of Brabant has recently been published by Jacques Bolsée, *La Grande Enquête de 1389 en Brabant.* A valuable introduction (in French) discusses the development of the *enquête* from 1351 to 1389 and surveys the significant aspects of the documents which follow. These (in Flemish) are the Registre des Enquêteurs de l'Ammanie de Bruxelles, the Registre des Taxateurs, and the Registre du Receveur.

In the February number of the University of Colorado *Studies,* Erwin F. Meyer completes his study of English Craftguilds and Borough Governments of the Later Middle Ages, which was begun in the February number last year. He controverts the opinion of Gross, Sellers, and Bickley that "the craftguilds were political nonentities".

The *English Historical Review* for April has a review by William Miller of Georgina Buckler's *Anna Comnena* and Steven Runciman's *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign,* and a review by C. H. Haskins of C. C. J. Webb's *Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Metalogicon Libri IV.* Webb's book is also reviewed by Michael Bihl in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique,* July, 1929.

In the *Revue de Synthèse Historique,* December, 1929, Louis Halphen reviews *Les Histoires Générales de Cambridge,* and in the London *Times,* Literary Supplement, February 20, there is an important review of vol. VI. of the *Cambridge Medieval History,* The Victory of the Papacy.

In the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* (Mar.), Kirn reviews Heinrich Mitteis, *Politische Prozesse des früheren Mittelalters im Deutschland und Frankreich,* and William Alfred Morris, *The Medieval English Sheriff to 1300*; and Bock reviews Hellmuth Weiss, *Frankreichs Politik in den Rheinlanden am Vorabend des Hundertjähriger Kriegs.*

Noteworthy articles: *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Publicae Audomaropolitanae* [anonymous as it is the result of cumulative work] (Analecta Bollandiana, XLVII. 3 and 4); Michel de Boüard, *Encylopédies Mediévales: Sur la "Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde" au Moyen Age* (Revue des Questions Historiques, Apr.); B. Granić, *Die Rechtliche Stellung und Organisation der Griechischen Klöster nach dem Justinianischen Recht* (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXIX. 2, to be continued); Henrietta M. Larson, *A Medieval Swedish Mining Company* (Journal of Economic and Business History, May); Peter Browe, *Die Eucharistie als Zaubermittel im Mittelalter* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, XX. 2); G. Falco, *Lineamenti di Storia Cassinese dall'VIII al'XI Secolo. III. L'Abbazia Imperiale Carolingia e l'Esenzione Papale* (Rivista Storica Italiana, Oct., 1929, Anno XLVI., n. s. VII., Fasc. IV.); E. Sthamer, *Studien über die Sizilischen Registers Friedrichs II.* (Sitzb. Preuss. Ak. Wiss., January 16, 1930); L. de Lacger, *La Primatie et le Pouvoir Métropolitain de l'Archevêque de Bourges au XIII^e Siècle,* I., concl. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Jan. and Apr.); Theodor Mayer, *Zur frage der Städtegründungen im Mittelalter* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLIII. 3, 4); Jules Viard, *Le Siège de Calais, 4 sept., 1346-4 août, 1347* (Le Moyen Age, XXX. 2, 3); Robert Brun, *A Fourteenth Century Merchant of Italy* (Journal of Economic and Business History, May); Janko Lavin, *The Bogomil Heresy* (The Slavonic Review, Dec., 1929).

D. C. M., G. C. B.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

In the June *Journal of Modern History* F. S. Rodkey continues his study of Lord Palmerston and the Rejuvenation of Turkey, 1830-1841. He also contributes to the "Documents" Reshid Pasha's Memorandum of August 12, 1839. Lester K. Born presents Some Notes on the Political Theories of Erasmus, and Carl Ludwig Lokke describes French Dreams of Colonial Empire under Directory and Consulate. Louis R. Gottschalk, the assistant editor of the *Journal,* who has been at work in France this year on material touching the career of Lafayette, reviews the biographical literature which has grown up about him, and Troyer S. Anderson comments on half a dozen recent editions of memoirs dealing with the wars of the Revolution and the Empire. There are readers of Mercer's *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign* who will be inclined to file objections to the judgment pronounced on that book. The bibliographical article in this number is noted elsewhere.

A work of considerable interest for the study of the Council of Bâle is *Le Cardinal de Lapalud et son Procès pour la Possession du Siège Episcopal de Lausanne*, by Jules Schweizer, of the University of Bâle (Paris, Alcan, 1929, pp. 200). It belongs to the series of publications on history and the philosophy of religion issued by the faculty of Protestant theology of the University of Strasbourg. It is not a biography of Lapalud, but is mainly concerned with the affair of the bishopric. Incidentally the question of existing practice in episcopal elections is discussed.

Das Religionsgespräch zu Marburg 1529, by Walther Köhler, professor in the University of Heidelberg (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1929, pp. 43, 1.80 M.), is a development with documentary citations of an address which the author delivered last September at Marburg, in commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the famous conference between Luther and Zwingli.

Since a good study of Richelieu's economic policy has hitherto been lacking, there is a distinct place for the monograph by Dr. Georg Herzog von Mecklenburg, *Richelieu als Merkantilistischer Wirtschaftspolitiker und der Begriff des Staatsmerkantilismus* (Jena, Fischer, 1929, pp. 232). The central idea, that as founder of absolutism the great cardinal was also founder of mercantilism, should be corrected in view of H. Hauser's *Débuts du Capitalisme* (1928), which proved that the roots of mercantilism are to be sought in the sixteenth century.

Franco-German Relations, 1878–1885, by Robert H. Wienefeld, professor of history in Converse College (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1929, pp. 200), is no. 4 of vol. XVII. of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. The work was undertaken at the suggestion of the late Edward Raymond Turner. It is based upon printed material. Of the recent great collections only the *Grosse Politik* was available.

The primary interest of the Alabama case in the development of international arbitration is recognized by Egidio Reale in his *Le Réglement Judiciaire du Conflit de l'Alabama* (Geneva, Payot, 1929, pp. 141). His failure to utilize recent American works, notably E. D. Adams's *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, is surprising.

The recent ills of democracy are treated in a critical but optimistic spirit by A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, in five lectures, originally given at Swarthmore College on the William J. Cooper Foundation, under the title of the *Essentials of Democracy* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929, pp. 82, $1.00).

Noteworthy articles: Richard Zwölfer, *Die Reform der Kirchenverfassung auf dem Konzil zu Basel,* I., II., to be continued (Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde, XXVIII.); Florian Cajori, *Johannes Kepler, 1571–1630* (Scientific Monthly, May); P. Marmottan, ed., *Lucchésini, Ambassadeur de Prusse à Paris, 1800–1801* [Correspondence, third installment] (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, Oct.); Hans Rosenberg, *Theologischer Rationalismus und Vormärzlicher Vulgärliberalismus* [speculative origins of German bourgeois liberalism in late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries] (Historische Zeitschrift, CXLI. 3); Henri Sée, *Geldwirtschaft, Kapitalismus und Landwirtschaft; einige Bemerkungen* [influence of money economy and capitalism on agriculture in modern history] (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXXXVIII. 2); Comte H. de Peyronnet, *Les Débuts de l'Ambassade de l'Amiral Roussin à Constantinople, 17 Février–24 Mars 1833* [failure to prevent Russia from gaining influence over Turkey during Mehemet Ali crisis] (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLIII. 4); Erich Marcks, *Die Europäischen Mächte und die 48er Revolution* [hostility of Europe to a strong Germany described in relation to the Polish, Schleswig-Holstein, and German Empire questions] (Historische Zeitschrift, CXLII. 1); Merle E. Curti, *Pioneers of Peace* (North American Review, May).

THE WORLD WAR

The third volume to appear of the *Documents Diplomatiques Français relatifs aux Origines de la Guerre de 1914* is the first volume of the second series (1901–1911). It covers a single year, from January 2 to December 31, 1901, a year of great interest, however, because the echoes of Fashoda had hardly died away. This was also the year which saw the failure of the Anglo-German negotiations for an alliance.

Vol. VI., the new volume of the *British Documents on the Origins of the War,* has as its subtitle *Anglo-German Tension, 1907-1912.* The Agadir affair, which falls within this period, is reserved for vol. VII. The principal incident included, therefore, is the Haldane Mission. This is suggested by the reproduction as a frontispiece of Count Metternich's letter of March 14, 1912, to Grey, explaining that his formula for a settlement of outstanding differences did not mention neutrality and would not be found sufficient by Berlin. This volume is approximately as large as vol. V., and much larger than the earlier volumes of the series.

It is expected that the first volume of the Italian documents on the origin of the war will appear before the close of the year. Senator Francesco Salata is president of the Royal Commission which has charge of the publication. The title will probably be *Documenti Diplomatici sulla Politica Estera dell'Italia dalla Costituzione del Regno alla Guerra Mondiale (1861–1915).*

G. P. Gooch has utilized the occasion of a new printing of his *Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy* (New York, Longmans, 1930, $3.00) to add a supplement for the publications of the years 1928 and 1929. This supplement of 150 pages, with the sixty pages for 1927, doubles the size of the original work. The eight volumes of the Austrian documents appeared too late for inclusion. One can not contemplate without astonishment the volume of material still pouring forth from the presses of all countries upon this tragic theme. The character, scope, and value of each are described and appraised in a tone of fairness and with a charm of style that never fail. In his preface Dr. Gooch says that if the demand continues he proposes to merge the supplements in a revised version of the original work. This would doubtless offer an opportunity to readjust matters of emphasis and proportion.

M. Poincaré has again entered the lists in the controversy over the origins of the World War. It is in response to fourteen questions, touching the most important elements of the problem, addressed to him by René Gerin, a former *élève* of the École Normale, who was wounded in the war. The answer has taken the form of a small volume with the title of *Les Responsabilités de la Guerre* (Paris, Payot, 1930, 15 fr.).

Two facts give importance to General Hermann von Kuhl's *Der Weltkrieg 1914–1918 dem Deutschen Volk Dargestellt* (Berlin, Wilhelm Kolk, 192, 45 M.). Von Kuhl was chief of staff of Von Kluck for nearly a year and afterwards of Crown Prince Rupprecht. He is also one of two officers whose duty it is to pass upon the volumes of the German official history of the war. He regards the British as the driving force of the alliance against Germany, and he credits the British soldier with exceptional powers in defensive warfare. The British navy and the hunger blockade he holds to have been the real causes of German defeat.

The last successes of the Germans in 1918 and the increasing difficulties of their position on the Western front are told in two monographs, belonging to the series of "Schlachten des Weltkrieges, herausgegeben im Auftrage des Reichsarchivs", and the scope of which is described in the subtitles: (1) *Das Vordringen der 7. Armee über Ailette, Aisne, Vesle und Ourcq bis zur Marne, 27 Mai bis 13 Juni*; (2) *Vergebliches Ringen vor Compiègne, Villers-Cotterets und Reims* (Oldenburg, Stalling, 4.50 and 3.50 M.). The story of the surprise at the Chemin des Dames, the ease and completeness of the German victory, must always remain an embarrassment to the biographers of Foch.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Pierre Renouvin, *Le Gouvernement Austro-Hongrois et la Crise de Juillet 1914* [utilizes Austrian documents to emphasize the view that Berchtold was uncompromising because he feared that "faiblesse" might lead the Germans to turn to other alliances] (Revue d'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale, Apr.); Casimir Smogorzewski, ed., *Joseph Pilsuksi et les Activistes Polonais pendant* *la Guerre* [documents] (*ibid.*); Alfred von Wegerer, *Sir Arthur Nicolson und Englands Weg in den Weltkrieg* (Berliner Monatshefte, May); Paul Herre, *Tirpitz und der Bau der Deutschen Flotte* (*ibid.*); Anon., *Crépuscule d'Alliance; le Dialogue Austro-Allemand, Février-Août, 1918* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: F. Cabrol, *Courrier Anglais* [recent English publications, including several published in the United States] (Revue des Questions Historiques, June).

The *English Historical Review* for April has an unusual number of American contributors, Carl Stephenson, of the University of Wisconsin, Warren O. Ault, of Boston University, and Clarence Perkins, of the University of North Dakota. Professor Stephenson takes up certain controversial questions touching the Anglo-Saxon borough, in further illustration of the principles laid down in his article in the *American Historical Review* four years ago (XXXII. 10 ff.) on the Origin of the English Towns. He feels sure that much confusion is avoided in these controversies "by refusing to read into the records of a primitive age the concepts of a later and much more complex civilization". Professor Ault brings the question of Early Village By-Laws down from the realm of conjecture by analyzing actual by-laws which he has found in a large number of manor court rolls preserved in the British Museum and the Record Office. The financial operations of the Knights Hospitallers in England after the Fall of the Order of the Temple is Professor Perkins's subject. Other articles are the Restoration Government and Municipal Corporations, by J. H. Sacret, and the Cathedral Chapter of Exeter and the General Election of 1705, by the Rev. Norman Sykes.

Vol. XII. of the *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society opens with the presidential address of the late Thomas Frederick Tout on History and Historians in America. He touches incidentally on the much agitated question of American purchases of British manuscripts. The same volume contains the Alexander Prize Essay for 1929, entitled Lord Palmerston's Policy for the Rejuvenation of Turkey, 1830–1841, by Professor F. S. Rodkey, of the University of Illinois, and the Transformation of the Keepers of the Peace into the Justices of the Peace, 1327–1380, by Professor Bertha Haven Putnam, of Mount Holyoke College.

The tenth report of the Royal Commission on the *Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland* (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1930, 32 s. 6 d.) covers West Lothian and Midlothian except Edinburgh. No buildings later than 1707 are included, and no secular buildings prior to 1400. Like the other reports, it is richly illustrated, with thirty-nine pictures of Roslin Chapel alone. The fifteenth century seems to have been a period of most active building in Scotland.

G. E. Manwaring, of the London Library, has prepared a *Bibliography of British Naval History. Part I., Authors; Part II., Subjects* (London, Routledge, 1930, 25 s.). It does not list books, but rather manuscripts and essays which appear in learned journals and collections, and it covers the history of the navy from the beginning until after Trafalgar. The purpose is to supplement existing bibliographies.

The *Letters of Queen Victoria* are to be continued by a third and final series of which the first volume, edited by George Earle Buckle, is to appear in the fall.

As a result of his reflections prompted by the publication of the first volume of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Sir Charles Lucas, who wrote the introduction to that work, has embodied in fourscore pages what he deems to have been "the main driving forces in the Old Empire as compared with later times", and has given his little book the title of *Religion, Colonising, and Trade* (London, S. P. C. K.; New York, Macmillan, 1930, $1.40). "Religion" stands first out of proper respect rather than because it was the primary motive. It did have a great part in the founding of New England, but the author does not attribute this influence to any desire to convert others. Moreover, after 1660 the religious motive in colonization was less conspicuous. As the "Old Empire" came to an end with the independence of the United States, the comments of the author do not touch the period beyond 1783.

Two interesting chapters in the history of English education are told in H. Hale Bellot's *University College, London, 1826–1896* (University of London Press, 1929, 25 s.) and in F. J. C. Hearnshaw's *Centenary History of King's College, London, 1828–1928* (London, Harrap, 1929, 21 s.). King's College owed its origin to an ecclesiastical protest against the absence of religious teaching or clerical control in the projected University College, but in less than a decade the two were associated under the charter of the new University of London, whose function was to grant degrees.

In the annals of biography there is perhaps no controversy with a more persistent vitality than that recalled by the title of Professor Waldo H. Dunn's volume *Froude and Carlyle* (New York, Longmans, 1930, pp. xx, 365, $5.00). For a couple of decades the critics of Froude have occupied the front of the stage, but now Froude has won a formidable protagonist. Mr. Dunn has examined all the documents in the case with meticulous care, save those which Alexander Carlyle declined to let him see. He prints at the end of the book nearly a hundred pages of "Illustrative Documents", which enable the reader to follow the argument. He does not deny that Froude was inaccurate, but much of the inaccuracy alleged he attributes to Froude's theory of editing. Part is also due to failing eyesight and Froude's habit of doing his own proof reading. Mr. Dunn shows that Froude's critics have also been inaccurate. He believes that Froude's portrait of Carlyle stands to-day "with no rival". Whether the reader will agree with this verdict or not, he must concede that Mr. Dunn has produced a surprisingly interesting book upon a quarrel most persons have forgotten.

The Alexander Prize will be awarded by the Royal Historical Society for the best essay on any subject approved by the Literary Director. Essays must be sent in by March 31, 1931. For further particulars apply to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 22, Russell Square, W.C. 1.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: D. M. Petruševski, *Die Entwicklung der Grundherrschaft in England* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXXXVIII. 1); George E. Woodbine, *County Court Rolls and County Court Records* (Harvard Law Review, May); Robert T Nightingale, *The Personnel of the British Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service, 1851–1929* (American Political Science Review, May).

FRANCE

General review: G. Lefebvre, *Révolution et Empire* [1924–1929] (Revue Historique, Jan.); L. Gougaud, H. Sée, A. Rébillon, H. Bourde de la Rogerie, *Chronique d'Histoire et de la Littérature de la Bretagne* (Annales de Bretagne, XXXVIII. 4).

An important critical review of Brunot's *L'Histoire de la Langue Française* is given by A. Terracher in the March–April *Revue Historique*.

No one can tell us with greater authority than Émile Bourgeois *Ce Qu'il Faut Connaître du Passé de la France* (Paris, Boivin, 1929, 8 fr.). In this little book are answered with clarity and suggestiveness the questions which the student interested in French history would like to ask of such a master. Almost with relief the reader notes that the sketch stops short of the twentieth century, and so never passes beyond the region of serene judgments. It is well worth wider circulation in this country through translation.

The *Revue des Questions Historiques* in order adequately to mark the centenary of Fustel de Coulanges, its most illustrious collaborator, has decided to enlarge the scopes of its *chroniques* and other sections, giving them more of what is called "actualité". It has associated with the director, Jean Giraud, a directing committee including such well-known writers and scholars as Marcel Marion, Pierre Gaxotte, and Pierre de Vaissière.

Under the auspices of the Société des Antiquaires of Picardy, Jean Tremblot has prepared a study of *Le Prieuré et la Seigneurie de Rantigny* (Amiens, Au Siège de la Société, 1928). Rantigny is in the department of the Oise, halfway between Paris and Amiens. The most famous seignior to hold the fief was the Duc de Liancourt, friend of Arthur Young and the most notable philanthropist of the Revolutionary period. M. Tremblot is not one of his admirers. He is forced to give the duke much attention, because it was in Rantigny that some of the duke's agricultural and industrial experiments were made. The scope of the work, however, is not limited to the fate of priory and seigniory at the Revolution. With all the zeal of a trained antiquary the author goes back to beginnings, marks out the extent of the holdings of prior and lord, and records what is known of each incumbent. It is not intended as a study of the social evolution of a community, and yet it offers to the discerning reader many significant illustrations of the process of change through the centuries.

The Institute of French Studies has published a bibliography of *Jeanne d'Arc in Periodical Literature, 1894–1929,* by Altha E. Perry (New York, 1930, pp. 127). It has special reference to Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan.*

Governmental manipulation of monetary values is not an invention of the paper money era, as some persons imagine. This is again illustrated in Louis Lièvre's instructive monograph on *La Monnaie et le Change en Bourgogne sous les Ducs Valois* (Dijon, Berthier, 1929, pp. 170, 20 fr.). The author remarks that all these crises, in spite of social and economic differences, have a strong family resemblance. The rate of depreciation of the money coined by the dauphin Charles as regent from 1420 to 1422 was almost as dizzy as that of the German mark in 1923. This book incidentally explains the *pied* in the monetary system, the rôle of the *monayeurs* and the money-changers.

Were not the adjective perilously threadbare an observer of contemporary French historical writing would remark that the number of series of narratives of incidents, or descriptions of situations, in French history is amazing. One of the newest is concerned with "L'Ancienne France" and deals with subjects as widely contrasting as the Court of Louis XIV. and the work of the Committee of Public Safety. For the volume on *Le Grand Roi et sa Cour* (Paris, Hachette) the author is Mme. Saint-René Taillandier, the biographer of Mme. de Maintenon. All her skill is not sufficient to leave the reader without the impression that Louis XIV., extraordinary as were some of his abilities, was after all an immense incubus.

Students of the French Revolution are aware that no material reveals more clearly the course of public opinion at Paris during the Terror than the reports of the "observers" which nearly two decades ago Pierre Caron began publishing under the title *Paris pendant la Terreur.* The continuation of that work was interrupted first by the war and then by the financial difficulties of the Société d'Histoire Contemporaine. In his preface M. Caron remarked that the reports for Brumaire An II. were lacking. He announces in the latest number of *La Révolution Française* (January) that he has discovered twenty-five reports belonging to this month, and that he will include them in the second series. He prints one as an illustration. This gives an account of the execution of the Girondins.

The list of *Acts of French Royal Administration concerning Canada, Guiana, the West Indies and Louisiana, prior to 1791,* compiled by Lawrence C. Wroth, of the John Carter Brown Library, and Gertrude L. Annan, of the New York Academy of Medicine Library (New York Public Library, 1930), is now complete. The editors began with a provisional list of 437 titles which in 1927 Worthington C. Ford published in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Their list contains 2100. They have not added acts known to exist in manuscript form only because these are to appear in the *Guide* now being compiled by Waldo G. Leland for the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Eighteen libraries have contributed titles to the list. The index is arranged upon an especially helpful plan.

As long as the République Française continues in her present robust health, the question whether the dauphin died in the Temple in 1795 or was spirited away is not one of practical politics. There is an ever lengthening list of books on the problem, and yet the historians of the period are not convinced. In his *Louis XVIII. ou l'Otage de la Révolution* (Paris, Champion, 1929, 12 fr.) Commandant Cazenave de la Roche, writing from the Legitimist point of view, argues for the validity of the claims of Naundorff and his descendants. Louis XVIII. is the villain of the piece.

The elements of the February Revolution are simple compared with those of 1789 or of 1793. The story is melodrama rather than tragedy—the hesitations of the radicals, the fatuity of Guizot, the flight of Louis Philippe to the Channel. It includes no lynchings of Foulons and Berthiers. And yet it is not a meaningless tale. Alexandre Zévaès has given it new interest in his brief narrative with the title *La Chute de Louis Philippe* (Paris, Hachette, 1929, 7 fr.) by keeping the essential character of the affair clearly before the reader and by a skillful choice of descriptive detail. His volume belongs to the series "Récits d'Autrefois". Another book on the same subject, *Les Journées de Février 1848,* by Maurice Soulié (Paris, Payot, 1929, 18 fr.) is somewhat more inclusive. Its aim also is simply to tell the story. The author's attitude toward Louis Philippe is sympathetic, which is not conventional. He goes too far, however, when he says that France was happy under Orleanist rule. The fall in wages during this period and the misery of the textile workers are evidence to the contrary. M. Soulié first brings his characters on the stage and then the drama proceeds, closing with the king's flight.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Camille Jullian, *Fustel de Coulanges* (Revue des Deux Mondes, Mar., 1930); André E. Sayous, *Le Commerce Terrestre de Marseille au XIII^e^ Siècle* [commercial technique of the trade with the Champagne fairs, etc.; greater progress than in any period until late nineteenth century] (Revue Historique, Jan.); Louis Batiffol, *Les Difficultés de Louis XIV. avec les Alsaciens,* I.

(Revue de Paris, Apr. 1); Henri Sée, *L'Enquête sur les Clôtures en Bretagne, 1768* [majority of subdelegates charged with the investigation felt clearing and enclosure of waste lands unwise] (Annales de Bretagne, XXXVIII. 4); H. Goiran, *La Marine Française au Cap de Bonne-Espérance pendant la Guerre d'Amérique* [letters from Cape Town archives, relating to commercial and military operations] (Revue Historique, Jan.); André Lesort, *La Commission de la Convocation des États Généraux* [based on the papers of Chaumont de La Galaizière, a member of the Commission, discovered since the publication of Brette's *Recueil*] (La Révolution Française, Jan.); Alfred Stern, *Condorcet und der Girondistische Verfassungsentwurf von 1793* [he was not the sole author of this constitutional project, though he had the chief share in it; some parts are the work of Barère, some perhaps of Gensonné and other members of the committee] (Historische Zeitschrift, CXLI. 3); Henri Calvet, *Les Origines du Comité de l'Evêché* [efforts of Paris sections to form a joint committee date, not from April 1793, but from beginning of Convention] (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, Jan.); Caulaincourt, duc de Vicence, *Mémoires; l'Agonie de Fontainebleau*, I.–V., to be continued [negotiations with Czar Alexander at Paris, 1814] (Revue des Deux Mondes, Jan. 1, 15, Feb. 1, Mar. 1, Apr. 1); Henri Sée, *La Vie Politique et Économique de Nantes, d'après la Correspondance de Dubois* [during the Orleanist period] (Revue Historique, Mar.).

BELGIUM AND THE NETHERLANDS

General review: H. J. Smit, *Histoire des Pays-Bas, 1926–1928* (Revue Historique, Nov.).

The latest issue in the series of *Werken* of the Historisch Genootschap is the second and concluding part, edited by Dr. H. J. Smit, of the accounts of the counts and countesses of Holland and Zealand of the House of Hainault, *De Rekeningen der Graven en Gravinnen uit het Henegouwsche Huis* (Utrecht, Kemink en Zoon, 1929, pp. xi, 501), accounts noted by their bailiffs and illustrating their finances from 1305 to 1345.

Bulletin no. 3, vol. XCIII., of the Commission Royale d'Histoire (Brussels, Lamertin, 1929) contains documents on the policy of the dukes of Brabant and Burgundy in the duchy of Limbourg and the territories beyond the Meuse during the second half of the fourteenth century (1364–1396).

In this *Review* for July, 1929 (XXXIV. 837), an account appeared of *Les Archives du Conseil de Flandre*. The Flemish edition of this work should be noted, *Het Archief van den Raad van Vlaanderen* (Brussels, Lamertin, 1929). This adds to the French edition an historical introduction and several documents of special interest.

A colorful picture of the life and mind of Antwerp at the outbreak of the revolt in the Netherlands against Spain is afforded by the contemporary impressions of a Lutheran painter, being now published as *De Kroniek van Godevaert van Hecht over de Troebelen van 1565 tot 1574 te Antwerpen en Elders,* edited by R. van Roosbroeck (vol. I. to 1567, Antwerp, De Sikkel, 1929, pp. xxii, 266).

The history of two churches forms a kind of epitome of Anglo-Dutch relations during the past 380 years. These are the Dutch Church in London, founded in 1550, during the reign of Edward VI., and the English Church at The Hague, whose *History, 1586–1929,* by Fred Oudschans-Dentz (Welft, D. Meinen, 1929), has recently appeared. In 1585 the English ambassador at The Hague was temporarily granted the use of the Roman Catholic Chapel of the Sacrament Hospital in order that the chaplain to the British embassy might hold religious services for Leicester's soldiers. This was the beginning. The way was not always smooth. On March 28, 1639, the Minute Book of the Council of the Dutch Reformed Church at The Hague notes that "An eye shall be kept on the English clergyman who is suspected of Socianianism". When Cromwell subsidized the church, the Queen of Bohemia, sister of Charles I., ceased to attend. C. L. C.

The dissertation of P. A. A. van Mechelen on *Zeevaart en Zeehandel van Rotterdam, 1813–1830* (1929, pp. 236) gives a good account of the trade of this port during the period when Holland and Belgium formed a single state.

An article of interest is: E. Coornaert, *La Draperie Rurale en Flandre* [summarizing facts and ideas embodied in two theses concerning particular industries from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century] (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, Jan.).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General reviews: Marc Bloch, *Histoire d'Allemagne, Moyen Age* [first article, listing books received before October, 1929] (Revue Historique, Mar.); Otto Brunner, *Ouvrages sur l'Histoire Moderne de l'Autriche, 1526–1918, parus de 1918 à 1929* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, Jan. and Mar.).

The important work by Erich Seeberg on *Luthers Theologie; Motive und Ideen* marks a methodological advance over Köstlin's well-known treatment, which was largely chronological and lacked a satisfactory synthesis. Seeberg's vol. I. deals with *Die Gottesanschauung* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck, 1929, pp. 218); the three succeeding volumes will treat Luther's sacramental doctrine, his Christology, and his views on life and death.

The town of Sélestat was, at the time of the Reformation, the center of an important group of humanists, whose leaders were Wimpfeling and Beatus Rhenanus. It has thus come about that this obscure place possesses the most valuable and ancient humanistic library in Alsace. Hence the interest attaching to J. Walter's *Catalogue Général de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Sélestat* (*Alsace*); première série: *Les Livres Imprimés*; troisième partie: *Incunables et XVI^e Siècle* (Colmar, Impr. Alsatia, 1929, pp. xiv, 621).

Professor Herbert Eichler, of the University of Vienna, contributed to the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* for March 15 an interesting sketch of the fundamental ideas and tendencies of German historical writing in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries under the title of Von Ludewig und Gundling zur Romantik. It is a section of a work upon Friedrich Schlegel. The period is relatively short but German historians traveled far from the notion held by Ludewig that only the jurist was competent to write history, and that its core was the rights and powers of the state.

Beiheft 18 of the *Historische Zeitschrift* consists in a monograph by Paul Hermann Ruth on *Arndt und die Geschichte; ein Beitrag zur Arndtforschung und zur Problemgeschichte des Historismus vornehmlich bis zum Ende der Befreiungskriege* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1930, pp. 195).

Those interested in the evolution of German military theory will find rich material in the exhaustive account of Moltke's successor, *Generalfeldmarschall Alfred Graf von Waldersee in seinem Militärischen Wirken* by General Hans Mohs (Berlin, Eisenschmidt, 1929, 2 vols, pp. 457, 452).

Ein Jahrhundert Deutscher Geschichte; Reichsgedanke und Reich 1815 bis 1919 presents a hundred and fifty documents in facsimile, selected by H. Goldschmidt, H. Kaiser, and H. Thimme, with historical introduction by E. Müsebeck (Berlin, Hobbing, 1929).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Wolterek, K., *Zur Gründung von Goslar und Braunschweig* [continued] (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, Mar. 15); Karl Lange, *Braunschweig im Jahre 1866* [continued] (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, Mar. 15); Otto Hintze, *Johann Gustav Droysen und der Deutsche Staatsgedanke im 19. Jahrhundert* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXXXVIII. 1); Eduard Schweizer, *Die Gewerbe am Kleinbasler Teich*, III. [1806–1927] (Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde, XXVIII.).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

The university of Piacenza has determined to give in three volumes a life of its founder, based on its own archives and those of Simancas, the Farnese family at Parma and Naples, and the Foreign Ministry at Paris. This biography of *Il Cardinale Alberoni* is being written by P. Castagnoli; vol. I. treats *Il Ministro de Farnese* (Piacenza, Collegio Alberoni, 1929, pp. xvi, 402).

An important work on the diplomatic history of the Roman question, which utilizes the Austrian archives as well as Italian sources, is Francesco Salata's *Per la Storia Diplomatica della Questione Romana* (Con documenti inediti), vol. I., *Da Cavour alla Triplice Alleanza* (Milan, Fratelli Treves, 1929, pp. xii, 295, 22 L.).

A scientific instrument of great value for those who have occasion to work in Spanish documents from Visigothic times to the seventeenth century is furnished by the professor of palaeography and diplomatic at the University of Madrid, A. Millares, who has written in two volumes a *Paleografia Española* (Barcelona, Colección Labor, 1929, pp. 359, viii, 131, 87 plates).

The researches in the history and literature of Muslim Spain, carried on for many years by the Spanish school of Arabists, which have been so fruitful and suggestive as to the close intellectual intercourse of medieval Christendom and Islam, have now reached the stage of popularization. In the admirable series of little manuals, covering practically all knowledge, published at Barcelona under the general title "Colección Labor" a history of Muslim Spain (*Historia de la España musulmana*) by Professor A. González Palencia of the University of Madrid has reached a second edition. In 200 pages, with many good illustrations, including 16 separate plates, and a really useful bibliography, both the history and civilization are covered adequately and clearly. There is quite a wealth of detail, cast often into tabular form. Another and much longer volume (356 pages; 8 plates) in the same series by the same author is *Historia de la Literatura arábigo-española*. In this there is even more detail, and it will often break new ground even for specialists in the history of literature; much here has not been accessible before except for Arabists who could read Spanish. It is greatly to be desired that both of these books should be translated. This would go far to put at least an outline of the results reached by the Spanish school before students of history and literature in other countries. This has now been done for Ribera's piece of monumental research *La música de las Cantigas* by Eleanor Hague and Marion Leffingwell (*Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain*: being *La música de las Cantigas* translated and abridged. Stanford University Press. Pp. xviii, 284, 8 reproductions as illustrations). The translating work is exceedingly good and has solved the first difficulty in the use of Ribera's book that it is in Spanish. But other difficulties remain. Only an expert musician can really understand what Ribera has accomplished, and such a musician, for the fullest understanding, must know medieval Spain and medieval Islam. But there can be no question that the greatest difficulty is here overcome and that, as the wrapper says, "new vistas in the medieval and ancient history of European music are opened". And it is not only an intelligible and consistent hypothesis of the origin of our music which we find here. There is also a broad picture of medieval life and of the influences which worked upon it in the East and in the West. Here, as in all the investigations of the Spanish school, the essential unity of East and West, from Persia to Spain, is worked out. The medievalist who is also a musician has no longer any excuse for ignorance on that.

D. B. M.

Vol. XV., Oct., 1929, and Jan., 1930, Smith College Studies in History, is entitled *Studies in the History of Spain in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*. The author is Vera Lee Brown, associate professor of history in Smith College. It is divided into three parts, the Spanish Court and its Diplomatic Outlook after the Treaty of Paris, 1763, Anglo-French Rivalry for the Trade of the Spanish Peninsula, 1763–1783, and the Relations of Spain and Portugal, 1763–1777. The author has drawn her material in part from Foreign Office papers and manuscripts in London, and from documents in the General Archive at Simancas.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Domenico Gnoli, *Il Teatro Capitolino del 1513; Inedito* [posthumously published study of certain aspects of life in Rome under Leo X.] (Nuova Antologia, Feb. 16); Luigi Rava, *Le "Memorie" della Nipote di Giovacchino Murat* [Luisa Murat, 1805–1815] (*ibid.*); Hans Roger Madol, *Godoy und die Abdankung von Bayonne* (Preussische Jahrbücher, Feb.); *Der Januskopf; Godoys Ende* (*ibid.*, Mar.); Italo Zingarelli, *Tommaseo a Corfù; Lettere e Documenti dagli Archivi Viennesi* [1850–1854] (Nuova Antologia, Feb. 1).

NORTHERN EUROPE

In June of this year the kingdom of Iceland celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the establishment of the Icelandic parliament. As a part of the contribution of Icelandic Americans to these festivities, Sveinbjörn Johnson, of the Illinois College of Law, has prepared a study of Icelandic society in the Viking Age which has been published under the title, *Pioneers of Freedom* (Boston, 1930).

The nine hundredth anniversary of the death of St. Olaf will be observed this month (July) in Trondhjem, Norway, with extended festivities. The approach of this anniversary has to some extent renewed the interest of Norwegian scholars in the problems of the closing century of heathendom. Among the recent studies of this period the most important, perhaps, is Johan Schreiner's *Olav den Hellige og Norges Samling* (Oslo, 1929), in which the author continues his research in the career of the great viking and discusses particularly the conditions (social, economic, etc.) which made possible the formation of a single Norwegian kingdom. Much insight into some of these conditions is afforded by Halvdan Koht's lecture on the fur trade in Norway in the Middle Ages (*Gråfelden i Norsk Historie*) delivered before the Norwegian Scientific Academy, Sept. 13, 1929, and published in *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 1930, I.

The Society for the Publication of Danish Sources has recently brought out volume II. of the *Repertorium Diplomaticum Regni Danici Mediaevalis* (Copenhagen, 1929). The work is edited by William Christensen and covers the years 1467–1478. The *Repertorium* is chiefly a calendar; but the editor has also included extracts of important documents that have not hitherto been published.

Another noteworthy publication of Danish documentary materials is a volume of the Letterbooks in the Danish Chancery (*Kancelliets Brevböger*) edited by E. Marquand (Copenhagen, 1929). The documents included deal with domestic affairs and conditions during the years 1627–1629.

The new general history of Sweden by C. Hallendorff and Adolf Schück has been translated into English from the Swedish manuscript by Lajla Yapp and published under the title, *History of Sweden* (Stockholm, 1929).

A new volume in the "representative women" series (edited by Francis Birrell) is a sketch of the career of *Christina of Sweden* by Ada Harrison (London, 1929).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Johan Schreiner, *Noen Problemer i Norges Jernalder* [problems of the iron age in Norway] (Historisk Tidsskrift [Norwegian], 1930, 1); K. Erslev, *Det Stockholmske Blodbad* (Historisk Tidsskrift [Danish], 1929, 6); Axel Kock, *Anmärkningar om vissa Danska Runinskrifter* [a discussion of certain runic monuments in Denmark] (Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi, 1929, 2); Sam. Henning, *Träldomens Försvinnande och de Svenska Landskapslagarna* [the disappearance of slavery in Sweden in the light of provincial law] (Historisk Tidskrift [Swedish], 1930, 1); K. J. Hartman, *Karl XII. och Görtz* [a study of Swedish foreign policy after Charles XII.'s return from Turkey, 1716–1718] (Historisk Tidskrift för Finland, 1929); Georg Wittrock, *Die Schlacht bei Lützen* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, 1929). L. M. L.

POLAND AND RUSSIA

General reviews: A. Kizevetter, *Histoire de Russie, Travaux des Savants Russes Émigrés* (Revue Historique, Jan.); Michael Karpovich, *The Russian Revolution of 1917* (Journal of Modern History, June).

The reader not frightened away by the highly imaginative style of the opening pages of Rom Landau's *Pilsudski and Poland,* translated by Geoffrey Dunlop (New York, MacVeagh, 1929, $5.00), will find much in the book that throws light upon the complexities of the struggle in Poland. The technique of the new biography does not destroy the substance of the treatment. It appears that Pilsudski had an instinctive feeling that a world crisis was at hand which would offer the Poles their long-awaited opportunity of freedom. To be ready for the occasion he attempted to organize in Galicia, in which he had taken refuge from Russian Poland, the nucelus of a Polish force. When the war broke out he and his Polish followers fought on the side of Austria against Russia as the principal enemy of his own land. The volume also deals with Pilsudski's career since 1918, among other things, giving a detailed account of the coup d'état of 1926 by which he became virtual dictator.

The characteristics of the Russian type, illustrated in centuries of Russian history, is the theme of the small volume entitled *Les Russes*, by G. K. Loukomski (Paris, Rieder, 1929). As the author was formerly conservateur des Palais-Musées de Tsarskoïe-Sélo, an archæologist and an architect, he naturally emphasizes the artistic phases of Russian life, and the number of plates nearly equals the number of pages.

A volume of interest is: Wladimir von Korostowetz: *Graf Witte, der Steuermann in der Not* [translated and edited by Heinz Stratz] (Berlin, Brückenverlag, 1929, 6.50 M.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Inna Lubimenko, *Le Rôle Comparatif des Différents Peuples dans la Découverte et la Description de la Russie* [9th–13th centuries, rare descriptive sources; 1250–1335, chiefly accounts of travel among Tartars; 1335–1486, predominance of Italian accounts; 1486–1553, chiefly Austrian accounts; 1553–1600, chiefly English accounts; 17th century, active collaboration of different peoples] (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLVIII.); Paul Marmottan, *Le Rôle Européen de la Pologne* [unpublished letters of Kosciusko, 1798–1800], I., concl. (Nouvelle Revue, Mar. 15, Apr. 1); W. A. Kizewetter, *Les Elections à la Première Douma* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, Jan.); Baron Boris Nolde, *Bismarcks Petersburger Partner* [Alexander II. and Gortschakow] (Preussische Jahrbücher, Mar.); G. Méquet, *Le Problème Agraire dans la Révolution Russe* (Annales d'Histoire Économiques et Sociale, Apr. 15); Youri Danilov, *Une Séance Historique à la Stavka, 14–27 Juin 1915* [account by Russian quartermaster general of meeting of the emperor, the council of ministers and army chiefs at the front, when political and military reforms were decided, though later not carried out] (Revue des Deux Mondes, Apr. 15).

THE NEAR EAST

The collection on Bulgarian history, published at Sofia and edited by Professors V. N. Zlatarsky and P. Nikov, is issuing in its third year: *Le Khan Kroum*, by V. N. Zlatarsky; *La Peinture Ancienne Bulgare aux XIII^e et XIV^e Siècles*, by Bodgan Filov; *Le Sort des Régions Bulgares du Nord-Ouest pendant le Moyen-Age*, by P. Nikov; *Josef Dobrovsky et notre Renaissance Nationale*, by B. Iotzov; *La Vie de Sainte Paraskeya du Patriarche Eutemius*, by V. S. Kisselkov (Sofia, 1930).

The Bulgarian Academy of Sciences has just published the *Zlatostrovi* of Czar Simeon of which a fragment only has been previously in print. There is included also a critical analysis by the editor, Professor G. A. Ilinski (Sofia).

The Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Church has published *Neophyte Hilendarsky Bosvely* (*1785–1848*), by Professor M. Arnaoudov, of the University of Sofia. It contains much of value upon Bulgarian history in the first half of the nineteenth century (Sofia).

There has just appeared in Bulgaria a collection in commemoration of the War of Liberation edited in two languages—Bulgarian and Russian—and entitled *Glorification of the War of Liberation.* This collection contains articles by A. A. Kizevetter on *Russia and the Southern Slavs from the XIVth to the XVIIth Century;* I Lappo, *Peter the Great and the Southern Slavs,* and P. M. Bogaefski, on the *Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji.* A. I. A.

Greece Today: the Aftermath of the Refugee Impact, by Eliot Grinnell Mears, formerly American Resident Trade Commissioner in Greece (Stanford University Press, 1929, pp. xxii, 336, $5.00), is not to be judged as history, but as an account of the present condition of Greece. The author has lived in Greece and has made remarkably good use of exceptional facilities for the study of the country, its population (old and new), natural resources, imports and exports, trade facilities, finances, its relations with other countries in the Balkans and elsewhere, and its prospects for the future. These matters are admirably treated. The book is readable, in spite of its statistics. All who contemplate doing business with the Greeks or investing funds in Greece will find here a mine of valuable information, and to future historians of the present time this book will be of great importance. H. N. F.

AMERICA

GENERAL

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: many photostats of original letters of George Washington held elsewhere; a body of papers of Charles Thomson, mostly connected with the Continental Congress; (on deposit) an important body of papers of Alexander Hamilton; (also on deposit) the early archives of the Society of the Cincinnati; papers of Senators James A. Bayard and Richard H. Bayard; additional papers of Duff Green; letters received by Thomas Ewing, 1859; additions to the Giddings-Julian collection; papers of Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, 1861–1911; letters from Benjamin Harrison to Cyrus C. Hines, 1886–1894; papers of Professor Lewis M. Haupt concerning the Nicaragua Canal; papers of Dr. P. P. Quimby, including letters to him from Mrs. Mary Baker Patterson (Eddy). Also, three months' additions to the supply of photographic reproductions of documents in English, French, Spanish, German, Austrian, Italian, Dutch, Mexican, and Canadian archives.

Vol. V. of the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, 1833–1838*, edited by the late John Spencer Bassett, and published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, is now in press.

The Gage Papers, recently bought by Mr. William L. Clements from Lord Gage, are Sir Thomas Gage's official and business letters and documents from the period of 1763–1775. Sir Thomas Gage served in various capacities throughout the French and Indian War and at the close was governor of Montreal. In 1763 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in America and filled the office until 1772 when he was called to England, ostensibly to give advice on the colonies. He returned in 1774 as governor of Massachusetts and remained in Boston until Howe's arrival in October, 1775. Although there are a few from an earlier time (notably one lot dealing with the siege of Louisbourg), the majority of the papers date from the period of the commander-in-chieftaincy and the governorship.

The papers have been rather marvellously kept together, the files of incoming ALSs and copies of outgoing Gage letters being, apparently, almost complete. The correspondence may be roughly divided as follows into letters to and from:

A. The home government: (1) Army officials in England; (2) Secretaries of State; (3) Secretaries at War; (4) Officials of the Treasury; (5) Judge Advocate General; (6) Board of Ordnance; (7) Paymaster General of the Forces; (8) Board of Trade; (9) Admiralty.

B. American civil officials: (1) Colonial governors, lieutenant governors, presidents of councils, etc.; (2) Other colonial officials; (3) Spanish and Danish governors; (4) Commissioners of the Customs in America.

C. American military officers, and persons connected with the army. D. American naval officials. E. Departments of Indian Affairs. F. Surveyors-General of Lands. G. American civilians: (1) Merchants, contractors, agents, etc.; (2) Prominent civilians, miscellaneous persons, etc. H. Miscellaneous.

In addition to the correspondence there are a number of proclamations, addresses, petitions, warrants, financial papers, legislative proceedings, etc., and 76 maps. The maps are all manuscript save five, and are mostly by Pittman, Holland, Brazier, Montrésor, Ratzer, and other engineers and surveyors. Among them is a manuscript Bernard Romans map of West Florida. R. G. A.

It appears that through an inadvertence the publishers of the *Dictionary of American Biography* have made the editors responsible for the preparation of the Index of the first four volumes. We are informed that this index volume was wholly the work of the publishers and the editorial staff has had no part in its preparation.

The thirteenth annual business meeting of the Agricultural History Society was held at the Department of Agriculture April 22. Officers elected for the year 1930–1931 are: Professor A. O. Craven of the University of Chicago, president; Professor W. Freeman Galpin, of Syracuse University, vice-president; Dr. O. C. Stine, of the Department of Agriculture, secretary-treasurer. Professor Coulter's presidential address was on Southern Agriculture and Southern Nationalism before the Civil War. The South, Professor Coulter pointed out, seized the agrarian program early suggested by Jefferson and attempted to base its political, social, and economic life upon it. Hard times and the controversy with the North led to the inclusion, first, of diversification, then, somewhat reluctantly, of manufactures and trade, as a means of preserving their agricultural institutions. But the program failed, in part at least, and the agricultural interests wrapped themselves up in a Southern nationalism and seceded as the only complete protection for that agricultural state which Jefferson had stood for. Dr. Carlton R. Ball, of the Department of Agriculture, spoke on the Improvement of Wheat. While wheat was brought to America from several countries during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, it was first introduced systematically from all accessible countries of the world during the first half of the nineteenth century. The speaker also explained the improvements made by the farmers themselves or as a result of study by federal or state experts.

The January number of *Agricultural History* contains papers by A. H. Hirsh, Kathleen Bruce, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, and Charles W. Ramsdell, which were presented in whole or in part at sessions of the Agricultural History Society held in conjunction with the American Historical Association at Durham and Chapel Hill.

In *La Louisiane, Histoire de son Nom et de ses Frontières Successives, 1681–1819,* one of the publications of the Société des Americanistes of Paris, by Baron Marc de Villiers (Maisonneuve, 1929, pp. 74, map) the attempt is first made, as the title suggests, to fix the date of the earliest use of the name and to indicate what it covered. The author believes that a document according to which La Salle employed the name in 1679 is antedated by two years, so that the first use should be dated in 1681. He also recalls the fact that a century later the expression "Deux Louisianes" was common, the *Basse,* narrowly dependent on New Orleans, and the *Haute,* better known as the *Établissement* or *Gouvernement des Illinois.* The longer part of the essay is devoted to the description of Louisiana's varying frontiers.

The Presidency of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789: a Study in American Institutional History (pp. 76), by Jennings B. Sanders, instructor in history in the University of Chicago, has been privately printed in Chicago, and the copy before us is designated "Second printing, revised". In the first two chapters of the monograph the history of the Presidency is traced from the election of a presiding officer at the first assembling, through the incumbencies of the fifteen men who held the office for terms of varying length to the virtual vanishing of the Continental Congress in the beginning of 1789. A third chapter treats more particularly the nature of the presidential office, its honors, duties, and points of contact with the modern presidential institution. Even though the name was taken over by the Constitution makers, except in prestige and social honors there is little similarity between the earlier and the later office. The President of the Continental Congress had indeed, especially in the earlier years, extensive duties to perform as the mouthpiece of Congress and its titular head, and as presiding officer might exert important influence in legislation; yet a presiding officer he essentially remained, never becoming an executive such as was created by the Constitution of 1787. A fourth chapter is concerned with the conduct of the presidential household, which experienced some significant developments in the later years; and a fifth discusses the education, economic status, politics, and Revolutionary leadership of the several presidents, with brief characterizations of each of them. Taken as a whole this study should be exceedingly helpful in clarifying knowledge of the presidential office in the period of national beginnings.

Jean Marchand published in the October number of the *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique* an interesting letter of the Duc de Liancourt to Talleyrand, from the collection of Ferdinand Dreyfus, the biographer of the duke. It was written at Philadelphia in March 1797, and describes the attitude of factions towards England and France at the beginning of Adams's administration. The duke alludes to the apparent harmony between Adams and Jefferson and says that the friends of England are drawing away from Adams. If France pursues a policy of consideration for American honor and interests the English faction will be ruined, for three quarters of the American people are favorable to France. Liancourt says it is a mistake to judge the Americans from the type observed in the cities, insisting, as he does in his published travels, that the real American people is the " peuple des campagnes, des Petites villes, des *back-countries* ".

Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, 1798–1817, edited by Dr. Dumas Malone for the University of Virginia, with translations by Professor Linwood Lehman, was published by Houghton Mifflin in June.

The autumn number of the *Bulletin* of the Friends' Historical Association contains an article by Albert Cook Myers concerning Benjamin West's mother, Sarah Pearson, and her family, and some extracts from the Journal of a Religious Visit to Friends in America, 1761–1763, by Elizabeth Wilkinson.

Those whose ideas of privateering during the War of 1812 are still derived from Cooper will see the other side of the practice in the tale of an Englishman who was on board a British vessel captured by an American privateer. It is found in a letter written by Henry Senior, at Jamaica, November 7, 1814, to his elder brother, the well-known Nassau W. Senior. The letter is reprinted by H. H. Brindley in the *Mariner's Mirror* of January under the title of the Loss of the *Lapwing,* Post Office Packet.

The Old Time College President, by George P. Schmidt (New York Columbia University Press, 1930, pp. 251, $4.00) has for its "scene of action" the American college from 1760 to 1860. In the history of the hundred years great personalities, who were also great presidents, emerge. Among them are Stiles of Yale, Nott of Union, Wayland of Brown, James Marsh of Vermont, Witherspoon of Princeton, Robert Bishop of Miami, Blanchard of Knox, Tappan of Michigan, Kirkland of Harvard, and many others. The movement of the narrative is swift; picturesqueness of style is common; the method is rather descriptive than interpretative; the academic atmosphere is preserved; and the abundant "sources" are well used. Certain infelicities of style may be noted: "prods" (page 148), "never went into operation" as applied to a college (page 49), "shoddy" (page 125), "oriented from Virgil's tomb and Plymouth Rock" (page 147). C. F. T.

In the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia for December Marian Sands Harris gives a biographical sketch of Rear Admiral James Hobson Sands, which embodies incidents of the older naval service, especially Sands's curious experiment in restoring discipline among sailors recruited from the San Francisco prisons. Another article, by John J. Meng, deals with the diplomacy of Vergennes.

The student of immigration is grateful for such works as *A Study of Assimilation among the Roumanians in the United States,* by Christine A. Galitzi (New York, Columbia University Press, 1929, $4.00), for it is the result of a systematic inquiry, in the first place, among 150 family groups in Chicago and seventeen other American cities. All other available sources of information are utilized. The investigation was forced to consider chiefly city groups because although 83.7 per cent. of Roumanian immigrants are farm laborers or laborers belonging to the peasant class, only nine per cent. of those in America live in rural districts. The wonder is that they have adjusted themselves so well. This study is restricted to Gentile Roumanians from older Roumania, Transylvania, and Macedonia.

The fifth volume of Albert Bushnell Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries* (New York, Macmillan, 1929, pp. xxi, 917) is more than a final volume of an indispensable series; it is an interesting account, from a wide variety of personal points of view, of contemporary life in the United States. Historically it covers the first three decades of the twentieth century, from McKinley to Hoover. The selections from presidential pronouncements number five each for Roosevelt and

Wilson, with none for Harding or Coolidge. On Prohibition the choice is significant: President Eliot's address before the Economic Club of Boston, March 6, 1923, and Clarence S. Darrow's article in the *American Mercury,* the following year. For the World War the selection ranges from such opposites as Walter H. Page and C. Hartley Grattan, Theodore Roosevelt and Frederic C. Howe, although most of them are descriptive and not controversial.

In *Amerikanische Interessen- und Prinzipienpolitik in Mexico, 1910–1914, ein Beitrag zur Kritik des Wilsonismus,* Hans G. Römer (Hamburg, Friedrichsen, de Gruyter, 1929) reviews briefly the conditions that underlay the Diaz régime in Mexico, and then discusses the transition in the policy of the United States from Taft to Wilson. Wilson's policy in Mexico he regards as a prelude to the policy followed immediately thereafter by the United States in the World War. He shows definitely that Wilsonism is based, first, upon the assumption that every form of government must rest upon the consent of the governed as registered in law, and not on force; and second, that financial interests outside of America must never assume a position in Latin-America which shall give them control over the government of the region affected. The Mexican question and the controversy over canal tolls at Panama act as a prelude to later coöperation between Great Britain and the United States, and, in the view of the author, afford an opportunity to reveal the moral energy of the latter country in world politics. I. J. C.

Articles of interest: Agnes M. Whitson, *The Outlook of the Continental American Colonies on the British West Indies, 1760–1775* [personal and trade relations, jealousies aroused by trade with the French West Indies, better feeling of 1774–1775] (Political Science Quarterly, Mar.); D. Pasquet, *Les États-Unis de 1805 à 1860, le Peuplement de Nord-Ouest* (Revue Historique, Mar.); C. C. Tansill, *War Powers of the President of the United States, with Special Reference to the Beginning of Hostilities* (Political Science Quarterly, Mar.); Capt. Walter B. Sturtevant, *John Brown's Raid, September, 1777* [Saratoga campaign] (Infantry Journal, May); Livingston Hunt, *The British Naval Waterloo off the Chesapeake* [September 5, 1781] (Harvard Graduates' Magazine, Mar.).

ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The April number of the Essex Institute *Historical Collections* contains a discussion, by Harrison M. Davis, of Local Government under the First Charter [Massachusetts]; a discourse, by William A. Pew, on the Bible Commonwealth of Massachusetts; and the first installment of a study, by Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup, of John Peirce and the Pilgrim Fathers.

It is with some surprise that one reads in Elizabeth Donnan's article on the New England Slave Trade in the *New England Quarterly* for April how successfully ship-owners defied the laws of their own states. Although Rhode Island was the first of the New England states to enact a sweeping measure against the trade, and after October, 1787, was supposed to impose heavy fines upon ships engaged in it, six vessels cleared for the Guinea coast in 1789 and "nine suspicious clearances are recorded for each of the years of 1796, 1797, and 1798; in 1799 and 1800 the numbers leaped to twenty-four and fifteen". Nor was Rhode Island the only state that could not or would not enforce her laws. In the same number E. A. J. Johnson studies the Economic Ideas of John Winthrop, and Lewis D. Clarke describes a land controversy which must hold the record for duration, the struggle over the Vermont Lands of the S. P. G., which began with the Revolution and was closed in 1927. Josephine Fisher gives a descriptive analysis of the Journal of Esther Burr, daughter of Jonathan Edwards and wife of Aaron Burr, president of Princeton.

The letters included in the volume of *Early Letters of Mark Hopkins* (New York, John Day, 1929, $4.00) have only recently been found. They supplement our information in regard to a remarkable New England family of the last century, described in the well-known biographies of both President Hopkins and his brother Professor Albert Hopkins. Although chiefly interesting for the light they throw upon the development of Mark Hopkins, one of the most famous of the older type of college presidents, they incidentally illustrate characteristic features of the New England civilization of that period .As young Hopkins taught in a Southside Virginia family to earn money for his college expenses, we get a New Englander's comments on slavery before the days of Garrison. He vigorously condemns slavery but is sure that immediate emancipation would bring disaster upon the country. It should be noted that the volume contains many letters written by his brothers Albert and Harry, and by his father and mother.

Two articles of special interest appear in the April number of the Worcester Historical Society *Publications*. One of them is entitled High Points in Early Worcester Politics, by Chandler Bullock; the other is Some Worcester Contacts with the Washingtonian Temperance Movement, by Frank Colegrove.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The April *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library has an article by R. W. G. Vail on the Ulster County *Gazette* and its Illegitimate Offspring. The particular issue of the *Gazette* that has been so prolific in illegitimate offspring is that of January 4, 1800, which contained an account of the death of George Washington. The author states that at least sixty reproductions of the issue have been made and that probably a million copies have been put forth, mainly reproductions of reproductions; for the original can nowhere be found. Another contribution of interest in this issue is Manhattan Maps: a Coöperative List, part I., edited by Daniel C. Haskell of the New York Public Library. In the May *Bulletin* is printed a provisional description in catalogue form, of the medieval manuscripts now in the New York Public Library, made in connection with the project of the Library of Congress of a catalogue or census of medieval manuscripts in the United States and Canada. The description has been prepared by Seymour de Ricci, who is director of the project.

The *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1784–1831,* in nineteen volumes, in print since 1919, have now been furnished with an *Index* in two volumes, prepared by David M. Matteson. The *Index* will be distributed without charge to the original purchasers of sets, and others may obtain the completed set from the Municipal Reference Library at the nominal price of $60.00, about one-third of the cost of publication. Remittances should accompany orders, and should be payable to the Comptroller of the City of New York.

The April number of the New York Historical Society's *Quarterly Bulletin* has an article by Richard L. Beyer on the Relations between New York and Pennsylvania, 1710–1719; also part II. of John Hill Morgan's paper on John Ramage, the portrait painter.

The April number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* contains an account of the dedication of the society's new building, December 11, 1929. An article, genealogical, biographical, and historical, deals with Jean Lampo, the first treasurer of New Netherland.

In an article entitled the Monks of the Passaic, in the April number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society, Richard C. Jenkinson gives an account of "a social and semi-literary" organization, which took its rise in Newark forty-odd years ago, including in particular a sketch of Jacob W. Schuckers, private secretary to Salmon P. Chase when the latter was Secretary of the Treasury.

The *Year Book* (pp. 47) of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, 1928, which includes also the acts and proceedings of the twenty-fourth annual meeting, January 17, 1929, contains the report of the committee (Roy F. Nichols and Julian P. Boyd) on the Needs of Pennsylvania History. Among the needs emphasized by the committee are: more instruction in the history of the commonwealth in the higher institutions of learning, more serious research into the history of the state, better preservation and cataloguing of materials now in hand.

The *Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society for the Years 1925 and 1926* (vol. XX., pp. 272), edited by Frances Dorrance, Director, is chiefly of importance for its reprint of the pamphlet *The Susquehannah Title Stated and Examined,* a defense of the Connecticut claim to the Susquehanna lands as against that of Pennsylvania, which was published anonymously at Catskill, New York, in 1796 (it had previously appeared serially), and for a biography of Barnabas Bidwell (1763–1833), to whom the evidence points conclusively as the author. The biography of Bidwell, fifty pages in extent, is from the hand of Julian P. Boyd of the society's editorial staff, and is admirably done. Mr. Boyd has not only given an almost forgotten character his proper place in our history, but shows a firm grasp upon the period and the events of which Bidwell was a part.

The *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* offers in the April number a Report, by Robert M. Engberg, on the Archaeological Work in Westmoreland and Fayette Counties, with an introduction by J. Walter Miles, and an account, by C. Hale Sipe, of the Principal Indian Towns of Western Pennsylvania.

Notes from Craft Collection in Tioga Point Museum on the Sullivan Expedition of 1779 and its Centennial Celebration of 1879, including Order Book of General Sullivan . . . , edited by Louise Welles Murray (Athens, Pennsylvania, 1929), contains an account of the materials relating to the Sullivan Expedition now reposing in the Tioga Point Museum; a map of the battlefield of Newtown (fought Aug. 29, 1779), made by General John S. Clark; and a sketch of Lieut.-Col. Francis Barber, a deputy adjutant general of the western army, by whose hand the Sullivan order book was written. The order book as it now exists (original in the New Jersey Historical Society) covers the period May 26 to September 6, 1779, with a few of the last pages missing.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

An important phase in the recent economic history of the South is treated by Professor Holland Thompson in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for April under the title of the Southern Textile Situation. The Gastonia and Marion incidents are clarified, and the line of development in the relations between employers and employees in this industry is pointed out. Another article which presents much that is new is Professor R. H. Shryock's Medical Practice in the Old South, the subject which he dealt with at the Durham meeting of the Association. William M. Robinson, jr., who wrote *The Confederate Privateers,* treats a phase of the same subject, the Confederate District Courts in Admiralty.

The March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has a Register of the Cabinet Makers and Allied Trades in Maryland, as shown by the newspapers or directories, 1746 to 1820, contributed, with an introduction, by Henry J. Berkley, M.D.; an account, by John B. Calvert Nicklin, of the Descendants of Francis Calvert (1751–1823); and a letter from Rev. Matthew Hill to Richard Baxter, April 3, 1669, partly concerning religious conditions in Maryland.

The Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, inactive for several years, has issued (Baltimore, 1929, without distinctive title) a record, the first since 1907. Among the contents is an address delivered before the society in 1911, by Professor Albert B. Faust; a letter written from Baltimore in 1840 by Ludwig Stassfort, a young German immigrant, to his parents; and an account, by George Prechtel, of Saint Paul's Lutheran Church of Arcadia, Baltimore County.

The November *Bulletin* of the Virginia State Library is *Proceedings of the Committees of Safety of Caroline and Southampton Counties, Virginia, 1774–1776*. The original of these proceedings, now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, have come to light since the similar proceedings for the counties of Cumberland and Isle of Wight were printed in the Library's *Fifteenth Annual Report* (1928). Dr. H. R. McIlwaine supplies a useful introduction.

Virginia Local Public Records: Housing Conditions in the Offices of the Clerks of County and City Courts of Record, 1929, the report of a special committee of the Virginia State Bar Association to coöperate with the State Library Board, has been reprinted from the *Annual Report* of the Virginia State Bar Association for 1929. The report is a tabulated statement, by counties, answering fifteen questions concerning housing conditions, and has an introduction by Morgan P. Robinson, chairman of the committee.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* continues in the April number Mr. Edgar Erskine Hume's studies of a Colonial Scottish Jacobite Family, being an account of the establishment in Virginia of a branch of the Humes of Wedderburn illustrated by letters and other contemporary documents. The chief item in the series of letters of the Byrd family appearing in this issue is the will of Mary Willing Byrd, 1813, that in the Kennon letters a letter from Mrs. E. B. Kennon to Moses Mordecai, September 26, 1815, much of which is a dissection of Napoleon Bonaparte. The *Magazine* reproduces in this issue a circular promulgated by the University of Virginia announcing its purpose to undertake the collection, preservation, interpretation, and publication of source materials of Virginia history, and inviting coöperation to these ends.

The principal article in the April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* is on Constitutional Revision in Virginia affecting the General Assembly, by James E. Tate, of the College of William and Mary. The article portrays the development of constitutional thought between 1776 and 1928, particularly the relations between the legislative and the executive power.

Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine for April contains a number of letters (1887–1889) to Col. J. Marshall McCue of Staunton, Virginia, respecting John Brown's movements in Virginia previous to his Harper's Ferry raid, some letters of John Tyler, especially two of them (1843, 1860) to John B. Floyd, one (1860) to Hugh Blair Grigsby, and a letter from James Buchanan (January 3, 1862) to his daughter, Harriet. Buchanan's letter touches upon Seward's letter to Lord Lyons, etc., and upon the paper currency question.

Recent accessions to the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission are: Diary of Weldon N. Edwards, 1827–1835; 277 pages of transcripts of the North Carolina records in the British Public Record Office; Richard Stanford Papers, 1798–1816; and photostats of eleven maps from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Particular interest attaches to an article, Borough Representation in North Carolina, contributed by Mary P. Smith to the April number of the *North Carolina Historical Review,* from the fact that a state which was practically without boroughs should have adopted this feature of the English political system, and actually held on to it until 1835. Underneath the device, apparently, was a hope that it would stimulate the growth of towns. Francis B. Simpkins continues in this number his discussion of the Solution of Post-Bellum Agricultural Problems in South Carolina; and Ralph B. Flanders gives some account of the Newspapers and Periodicals in the Washington Memorial Library, in Macon, Georgia. The section of reprints contains some German Tracts concerning the Lutheran Church in North Carolina during the Eighteenth Century, translated by Charles A. Krummel and edited by Professor W. K. Boyd. Among the Historical Notes, edited by D. L. Corbitt, is an essay an slavery, taken from the *North Carolina Journal* of July 4, 1796.

Mr. John P. Thomas, jr., contributes to the April number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* an article on the Barbadians in Early South Carolina, in which he sets forth the intimate connection between the island of Barbados and the early settlement of South Carolina. Not only were many of the prominent Charlestonian families of Barbadian origin, but institutions and customs as well. The genealogical article on Dr. John Rutledge and his Descendants, by Miss Mabel L. Webber, is continued, as are the correspondence of Henry Laurens and Charles Garth, respectively.

The Florida State Historical Society expects before long to issue to its members an important volume on the history of French Florida, from the authoritative pen of M. Charles de La Roncière, librarian of the Ministry of Marine in Paris.

In the March number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* under the title On the Bay One Hundred Years Ago, Elfrida DeRenne Barrow describes, chiefly by means of newspaper advertisements, the earlier business section of Savannah; Ralph B. Flanders discusses Planters' Problems in Ante-Bellum Georgia; Rev. James B. Lawrence of Americus gives an account of Religious Education of the Negro in the Colony of Georgia; and E. Merton Coulter surveys recent Historical Activities on Southern Subjects. Mr. Flanders's paper, which was awarded the $100 prize offered by the Georgia Historical Society for the best article submitted in the field of Georgia history, is a study of the economic aspects of slavery in the period preceding the war.

The second number of the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* offers an excellent array of articles, as did the initial issue of a year ago: the Blount Conspiracy, by Isabel Thompson; Old Inns of East Tennessee, by Maxine Mathews; the Second Administration of Governor Andrew Johnson, by W. M. Caskey; the Underground Railroad from Confederate Prisons to East Tennessee, by W. B. Hesseltine; the Founder of Tennessee's First Town: Major Jesse Walton, by Judge Samuel C. Williams; Biographical Sketch of Joseph Anderson (1757–1837), by Fay E. McMillan; a bibliography of Historical Activities in and respecting Tennessee, 1923–1929, by Laura E. Luttrell; the British in Canada and the Southern Indians, 1790–1794, by Philip M. Hamer.

G. P. Whittington contributes to the January number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* a group of nineteen letters and documents from the Papers of Thomas O. Moore, governor of Louisiana, 1860–1864. Ten of these letters are from Gen. Braxton Bragg to Governor Moore (1861) and two from President Jefferson Davis. A letter from William Mure, British consul at New Orleans, to Lord John Russell, December 13, 1860, discoursing upon both the financial and the political situation, is a contribution of Professor Milledge L. Bonham. Dr. Charles O. Paullin, in an article on the Father of Admiral Farragut, relates practically all that is known of "Sailing Master" George Farragut. The most noteworthy feature of this article is a memorial of George Farragut, discovered by Dr. Paullin and now printed for the first time. It is addressed to the Secretary of the Navy (1814) and recounts the principal facts of his life. The April number includes an English translation of the Early Census Tables of Louisiana, printed in French, with an introduction by the late William Beer, in the society's *Publications,* vol. V.

The *Biennial Report* (1928–1929) of the Board of Curators of the Louisiana State Museum includes some account of the historical materials acquired during the biennium, among them the minute book of the Louisiana secession convention; a collection of business letters, documents, etc., pertaining to the establishment of postal service between New Orleans and South American countries, and another body of documents bearing on the Confederacy. The Museum is carrying forward the work of indexing the records of the superior council of Louisiana.

In the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* R. L. Biesele gives an account of the state convention of Germans at San Antonio in May, 1854, which stirred Texas politics by putting forth among certain radical doctrines one concerning the abolition of slavery. Rex W. Strickland presents a History of Fannin County, Texas, and Alma H. Brown the second installment of her study of the Consular Service of the Republic of Texas.

WESTERN STATES

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its twenty-third annual meeting on April 24, 25, and 26, at Chattanooga, where grandeur and beauty of scenery of Lookout Mountain and Signal Mountain, with the Moccasin Bend of the Tennessee River lying between, rival the historic memories of Missionary Ridge and Chickamauga in their claim upon the attention of the visitor. This was an especially important meeting, as the Association had to select a new editor for the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* in place of Dr. Milo M. Quaife, who has given six years of distinguished service to this journal, but is now compelled by the pressure of other duties to give up the work. After a thorough canvass of the whole situation, the council selected as editor Professor Arthur C. Cole, of the Ohio State University. With the beginning of the next academic year Mr. Cole is to be Graduate Professor of History in Western Reserve University. The Association, according to the secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Clarence S. Paine, could report a prosperous year, with an increase in membership and invested funds.

The sessions were devoted to the History of the West, the History of the South, the Election of 1860, and Recent United States History. There was a judicious mixture of political and economic themes. In point of time the the study of politics went back to the beginnings of the Northwest Territory. Randolph C. Downs, of the University of Pittsburgh, showed how frontier opposition, in Ohio, to those provisions of the famous Ordinance which would operate to delay the grant of full self-government, rendered them speedily nugatory. H. C. Hubbart, of Ohio Wesleyan University, dealt with a phase of the democratic movement half a century later. He thought that less than justice had been done to the Progressive Democracy of the Forties, because the Republican party, soon to come into existence, gained all the publicity, and the rôle of this particular brand of democracy during the Civil War gave it a bad name. The election of 1860 absorbed a whole session, given to the discussion of the question, Was there a reasonable probability that the election of Lincoln meant an attack on the institution of slavery within the states? Professor Cole, who opened the discussion, was inclined to think that there was no reasonable probability of such a consequence, while Professor J. G. deR. Hamilton believed that the South had good reason to suppose that the risk was serious. Professor Charles W. Ramsdell took a middle ground, but emphasized the danger that Lincoln would be forced to make concessions to the radicals. In the course of the discussion, which was lively and stimulating, it was suggested that the question was not whether there was actual danger, but whether the South thought there was; indeed, it was a matter of psychology on both sides. Some listeners thought there was a little psychology in the discussion also.

In the order of time the next political situation to be described was the attitude of John Sherman toward Reconstruction policies, and especially toward Andrew Johnson. This subject was discussed by J. G. Randall, of the University of Illinois. The most curious fact alluded to was the belief of the Southerners that he could do something to restrain the radicals, a conviction which prompted them to write him multitudes of letters. Still more recent phases of politics were the Populist Contribution, described by John D. Hicks, of the University of Nebraska, and the Gold Standard Democrats, by James A. Barnes, of the Brookings Institution. From the exposition of Professor Hicks it appeared that most of the Populist principles, ridiculed at the moment, have since been embodied in national legislation, not the least being a reformed banking system which brings ample credit to the farmer's door. Mr. Barnes, who has been working especially on the Carlisle papers, portrayed the rôle of the party which helped to ruin the chances of Bryan's election. Incidentally he pointed out how skillfully Bryan's preëlection machine was constructed, with the result that his choice as the Democratic candidate was a foregone conclusion and not the emotional response to "Cross of Gold" oratory.

Leaning a little more toward emphasis on the economic factor was the paper of Thomas P. Martin, of the Library of Congress, which explained the relation between the campaign to break down the corn laws and the growth of the anti-slavery movement in the United States, since an increased market for grain gave a new prosperity to a free Northwest and threatened the influence of King Cotton. It was the economic factor again, according to Frank J. Owsley, of Vanderbilt University, which kept England from intervening in the Civil War; in other words, England was making too much money out of the struggle to want to meddle. The economic factor once more, as Walter B. Posey, of Birmingham-Southern College, showed, was the influence which changed Methodism from an anti-slavery organization to a supporter of slavery. Cotton may not have been "King" so far as England's conduct was concerned, but it eventually gained the homage of the Southern successors of Wesley and Asbury.

Other illuminating papers were the German Ideal of a German American State, by R. L. Biesele, of the University of Texas, the 19th Century Backgrounds of the 18th Amendment, by Olynthus Clark, of Drake University, and the Early History of the Tennessee River Valley, by Judge Samuel C. Williams, of Johnson City. The address of the president, H. C. Hockett, of the Ohio State University, with the title of Little Essays on the Police Power, traced in several outstanding examples the struggle between local and central government for the control of this authority. There were also conferences of state historical societies and of the teachers' section of the Association.

Solon J. Buck, chairman of the Alvord Memorial Commission, reported at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association that $3735 of the proposed fund of $10,000 had been subscribed. It is proposed to use the income of the fund for publication in the field which especially interested Professor Alvord. One of the projects now under way is the Vandalia Colony pamphlets, partially edited under Professor Alvord's direction, now being prepared for publication by Professor Wayne E. Stevens.

The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June opens with the address, entitled Little Essays on the Police Power, which Homer C. Hockett delivered as president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at its recent annual meeting. The other articles are: the St. Joseph Mission, by George Paré; the First English-Speaking Trans-Appalachian Frontier, by A. P. James; the Lead Traffic on the Upper Mississippi, 1823–1848, by W. J. Petersen; and an Appraisal of the Contributions of George Rogers Clark to the History of the West, by J. A. James. There is also an illuminating review of the first four volumes of the *Dictionary of American Biography* by M. M. Quaife.

The April number of *Mid-America* contains an article by Charles F. Griffith on Catholic Beginnings in Southeastern Iowa, 1832–1844; one by William R. Corrigan on Propaganda and the Suppression of the Jesuit Relations; a sketch, by William S. Merrill, of Bandelier, Archaeologist of our Southwest; and, under the title an Episode in Quebec-Louisiana History, an account of the episcopal career of Louis François du Plessis de Mornay. In the section of Documents is a translation, by Rev. Gabriel Tous, of Espinosa's Diary of the Ramón Expedition (1716).

The contents of the April number of the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society are principally continuations: Excerpts from the Executive Journal of Governor Isaac Shelby; items respecting Revolutionary soldiers in Kentucky, culled from newspapers by Nina M. Visscher; and Abstracts from Circuit Court Records (Fayette County), by Charles R. Staples.

The *Filson Club History Quarterly* reprints in the April number, with an introduction by Otto A. Rothert, an outline of the Origin and Settlement of Louisville, by Mann Butler, which was originally published in the *Louisville Directory* for the year 1832. From the same source is reproduced the map of Louisville, 1832, by E. D. Hobbs.

The January *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio consists of an article on Fort Meigs in the War of 1812, by Glenn D. Bradley (died on January 4). The April *Bulletin* has an article by Wilfrid Hibbert on Major Amos Stoddard, First Governor of Upper Louisiana and Hero of Fort Meigs.

The contents of the *Michigan History Magazine,* spring number, include a sketch, by William L. Jenks, of Judge John Griffin (1771–1849), one of the judges of Michigan Territory, 1805–1824; an outline, by Elmer Houser, of the liquor question in Michigan since the days of the French régime; and the seventeenth annual report of the Michigan Historical Commission. The commission expects to bring out shortly Professor Louis C. Karpinski's *Bibliography* of maps of Michigan and the Great Lakes; the *Records of the Governors and Judges of Michigan Territory* (1805–1924), edited by George B. Catlin; and a reprint of the *Life and Times of Stevens T. Mason.* It has in preparation vol. XLI. of the *Michigan Historical Collections,* to include letters of William Hull and Duncan McArthur, and *Michigan in the World War,* in four volumes.

In the March number of the *Burton Historical Leaflet* M. M. Quaife describes the expedition undertaken in 1820 by Governor Cass to explore the region from Detroit to the sources of the Mississippi, using principally Schoolcraft's *Narrative* and the journals of Doty and Trowbridge.

The articles in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History,* chiefly biographical, sweep the whole expanse of Indiana history. The story of Francis Vigo, friend and helper of George Rogers Clark, is told by Dorothy Riker. The last in the order of time is a sketch of Lucius Burris Swift (1844–1929), soldier, lawyer, editor, laborer in the cause of civil service reform, from the appreciative pen of James A. Woodburn.

The March number of the *Indiana History Bulletin* contains a description of the accepted design, by Frederick C. Hirons of New York, for the Vincennes memorial, to be erected on the site of Fort Sackville. The index to vol. VIII. of the Indiana Historical Society's *Publications* is ready for distribution (price fifty cents), and a general index (price $1.00) to vols. I. to XXV. of the *Indiana Magazine of History* is in course of preparation.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin issued, in March, vol. IV. of the Constitutional Series, containing the reprint of the journal of the convention which framed the existing constitution of Wisconsin, edited by M. M. Quaife, with the title of the *Attainment of Statehood,* and in May the first volume of the Biographical Series entitled *Carl Schurz, Militant Liberal,* by Joseph Schafer, the Superintendent. It is the design of the society to follow this volume with other biographies of Wisconsin public men.

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History* prints in the March number the Reminiscences of Milwaukee, 1835–1836, written by Nelson Olin in 1881; an article by William J. Petersen on Captains and Cargoes of Early Upper Mississippi Steamboats; and the concluding installment of John E. Nelligan's story of the Life of a Lumberman. In the editorial section Dr. Joseph Schafer discourses upon the topic American Social History, taking his cue from the address of Professor Dixon Ryan Fox, printed in the January number of this journal.

The reminiscences of Dr. William W. Folwell, president of the University of Minnesota from 1869 to 1884 and well-known Minnesota historian, are being edited under the direction of Dr. Solon J. Buck for publication by the University of Minnesota Press.

The Minnesota Historical Society and the highway department of that state are coöperating in the erection of markers for historic sites along highways. An original diary of Alexander Ramsey for the year 1864, when he was beginning his service in Washington as senator from Minnesota, has been added to the Ramsey Rapers in the possession of the society. A collection of the papers of Judge Luther L. Baxter has also been acquired.

In the March number of *Minnesota History* Edward C. Gale, using the title On the Hennepin Trail, discourses upon the life and works of Hennepin. Theodore C. Blegen discusses the Progress and Prospects of Local History Work in Minnesota, Willoughby M. Babcock the Problem of Historic Markers and Monuments in Minnesota, and Solon J. Buck recounts the recent activities of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* gives a history of the case Gelpcke *v.* the City of Dubuque, involving the validity of bonds issued by the city of Dubuque for the purchase of stock in the Dubuque Western Railroad, decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in December, 1863. This issue contains also a first installment of the Journal and Letters of William O. Gulick, a soldier of the first Iowa cavalry in the Civil War.

Professor F. I. Herriott contributes to the April number of the *Annals of Iowa* a biographical sketch of Dr. Augustus P. Richter (1844–1926), editor for thirty years (1884–1913) of *Der Demokrat* of Davenport, Iowa.

The February and March numbers of the *Palimpsest* have series of articles on literature and music in Iowa. The April number offers six brief biographies of major generals: Samuel R. Curtis, Francis J. Herron, Frederick Steele, Grenville M. Dodge, George W. Read, and Hanson E. Ely.

The Rev. M. M. Hoffman contributes to the recently inaugurated *Iowa Catholic Historical Review* an article entitled From Early Iowa to Boston, principally embodying a letter from the Abbé Joseph Cretin to Bishop Loras, written from Boston in 1846, describing his journey thither from Dubuque and commenting severely upon the conduct of the government toward Mexico.

In the April number of the *Missouri Historical Review* Buel L. Smith discusses Advisory Constitutional Opinions of the Missouri Supreme Court; C. B. Rollins contributes Some Impressions of Frank P. Blair, "bold and aggressive as a lion when occasion demanded", but "a good natured and kindly man"; Ethel M. Withers presents a sketch of Lewis Bissell Dougherty and a series of stories by him, recounting his experiences on the Oregon Trail; J. A. Leach offers a first installment of a study of Public Opinion and the Inflation Movement in Missouri, 1875–1879; and A. P. Nasatir's history of Ducharme's Invasion of Missouri is concluded.

The Annals of St. Louis and a Brief Account of its Foundation and Progress, 1764–1928 (pp. 83), by I. H. Lionberger, is sponsored by the Missouri Historical Society. The story is mainly concerned with the daily lives of the people, very little with political history.

The principal article in the January number of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* is an account of the Great Dakota Boom, 1879 to 1886, by Harold E. Briggs. The documentary material is a series of interesting letters of James Stallcop, a soldier in the Civil War, written chiefly from the front in Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, and Tennessee.

The Kansas State Teachers College has inaugurated the publication of a periodical to which is given the odd title, *The Aerend: a Kansas Quarterly*. *Aerend* is interpreted editorially as signifying a mission, and the mission of this quarterly is explained as " the fostering of the scholarly and cultural attitudes towards the problems of life and civilization ". Two articles in the first number (Winter, 1930) are Pilgrims of the Kansas Prairies, an account by Thelma Hruza, of a group of German settlers who had dwelt for a time in Russia, and the story of the establishment of the newspaper beyond the Mississippi.

Among the articles in the March number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* are: Early Day Courts and Lawyers, by A. C. Bierer; a discussion of the book entitled *The Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains* (New York, 1836) and the man who was possibly its author (Dr. William L. G. Miller), by J. B. Thoburn; and an account, by Muriel H. Wright, of Early Navigation and Commerce along the Arkansas and Red Rivers in Oklahoma.

The *Colorado Magazine* prints in the March number a manuscript written by W. M. Boggs about twenty-five years ago respecting Bent's Fort, the Far West, and Life among the Indians. It is edited for the *Magazine* by LeRoy R. Hafen.

In the April number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* P. M. Baldwin has an Historical Note on the Boundaries of New Mexico, and John P. Clum, former Indian agent, discusses, under the title Apache Misrule: a Bungling Agent sets the Military Arm in Motion, an episode of 1877, when a group of Apaches broke away from their reservation and were subdued by the military forces.

The March, 1929, issue of the *California History Nugget* has a short article on Gabriel Moraga, Conqueror of the Great Valleys; the April number one on the *Oregon*, Queen of the Old Mail Fleet.

Leslie M. Scott presents in the March number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* an account of the First Taxes collected in Oregon, 1844, together with the tax roll of that year; O. B. Coldwell recounts the Beginnings of Electric Power in Oregon; and Elsie F. Dennis the first installment of a history of Indian Slavery in the Pacific Northwest.

In the April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* F. W. Howay tells the story of a Yankee Trader on the Northwest Coast, 1791–1795, being a record of the voyage of the *Jefferson*, which sailed from Boston in November, 1791, and returned in July, 1795, trading on the northwest coast and making a voyage to China. Mary A. Gray relates in the same issue the history of the settlement of the claims in Washington of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company (1846–1872); Carroll H. Woody has a paper on Populism in Washington: a Study of the Legislature of 1897; and C. S. Kingston presents a first installment of a study of the North Idaho Annexation Issue, an issue which lasted from 1864 to 1890. The *Quarterly* also prints, from an original broadside, the proclamation of Governor Isaac I. Stevens, November 28, 1853, inaugurating the territorial government.

CANADA

The March number of the *Canadian Historical Review* contains two articles: Play-acting in Canada during the French Régime, by Margaret M. Cameron, and the Indian Policy of Henry Hamilton: a Revaluation, by Nelson V. Russell. A few college spectacles and a few plays presented under the patronage of the governor make up for the most part the history of the theater under the French régime, although a proposal by Frontenac to have Molière's *Tartuffe* performed stirred up no small controversy with the clergy. Mr. Russell does not wholly clear Henry Hamilton of the charge of being a "hair-buyer", but he does present evidence that Hamilton endeavored to discourage the practice on humanitarian grounds, and offers other evidence that the colonies indulged extensively in scalp-buying.

The *Report* of the Public Archives of the Dominion of Canada for the year 1929, by Arthur G. Doughty, Keeper of the Public Records, includes in the report proper lists of accessions during the year (transcripts and other), and has the usual appendixes of documents. One of these is the correspondence of Montcalm, February, 1756, to July 1758; another is the Journal of Simon Fraser (April 12 to July 18, 1806), relating the first exploration of the Fraser River; a third consists of Fraser's letters from the Rocky Mountains (August, 1806, to February, 1807); and the fourth is Lord Glenelg's *précis*, recently acquired by the Canadian Archives.

MEXICO AND SOUTH AMERICA

General review: Georges Pillement, *La Vie en Amérique Latine* (Revue de L'Amérique Latine, Jan., Feb., Mar., Apr., May).

In the *Hispanic American Historical Review* for May, W. S. Robertson presents some foreign estimates of Dictator Rosas based on inedited and other French sources. Miss F. W. Loughran has an article about the earliest episcopal sees in Spanish America, while L. J. Meyer has a study of the United States and the Cuban revolution of 1917. An appreciation of the diplomatic monographs that are being published by the Mexican Government entitled *Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano* is furnished by J. F. Rippy. R. O. Rivera briefly describes the Peruvian library of Pérez de Velasco recently purchased by Duke University.

Professor Albert Mathiez, who lectured at various universities of the Argentine last year, has described in *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française* for January the state of studies in modern history in that republic. He says that its historical school is no longer colonial, dependent upon the works of European scholars, and he characterizes the leaders in the movement to publish collections of sources and monographs upon Argentine history.

No. 32 of the *Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano* is entitled *Un Esfuerzo de México por la Independencia de Cuba.* A prologue by Luis Chavez Orozco is followed by documents relating to Mexican designs on Cuba, 1824–1829. No. 16 of the *Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas* is the first volume of a *Bibliografía General de Tabasco,* by Francisco de Santamaría. No. 17 of the same series by Jesus Guzmán y Paz Guzmán is the first part of a comprehensive, alphabetical *Bibliografía de la Reforma, la Intervención y el Imperio.*

The second volume of Emilio Uzcátegui García's *Historia del Ecuador*—the most comprehensive, brief history of Ecuador thus far published—has been issued from the press of the Talleres Gráficos Nacionales of Quito.

Vicente Lecuna of Caracas has ready for publication a ten-volume collection of letters of Bolívar.

Nos. 35, 36, and 37 of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* of Venezuela publishes installments of indexes in those archives concerning the following topics: encomiendas in Venezuela, leaders of the South American revolution, the administration of Spanish Guiana, the papers of Dr. Julian Viso, and records of military service in Venezuela near the end of the colonial régime. They also contain installments of extracts from the royal instructions providing for the establishment of an intendancy in Venezuela.

No. 90 of the *Revista da Academia Brasiliera de Letras* of Rio de Janeiro contains an article by Helio Lobo, former consul general of Brazil in the United States, on his contact with American universities. The third volume of the monumental *Diccionario Historico, Geographico e Ethnographico do Brazil*—the first volume of which was published at Rio de Janeiro in 1922—is scheduled for publication during the present year. The Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro has published a three-volume work entitled *Contribuções para a Biographia de D. Pedro II.*

No. 42 of the ***Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*** contains an article by R. B. Caillet-Bois on Alejandro Duclos Goyot, a Napoleonic emissary to Spanish America. Another article by R. Vargas Ugarte bears the title Los Archivos de la Antigua Chuquisaca. It also contains a documented study by Juan Castre entitled Datos para la Historia de la Imprenta de Niños Expositos, as well as another installment of a list of documents in the national archives.

An informing article by E. Ravignani, entitled Un Proyecto de Constitución relativo á la autonomia de la Provincia Oriental del Uruguay, 1813–1815, has been reprinted from the *Anales de la Facultad de Ciencias Jurídicas y Sociales de la Universidad, de La Plata*. Another article by the same learned author with the title La Política Internacional de España al Comenzar el Primer Gobierno de Rosas is printed in volume XX. of *Humanidades,* the organ of the College of Humanities and Education of the University of La Plata. In the same volume of that journal are also the following articles: J. T. Rebello, Nuevos Datos para el Estudio de la Inquisición en el Río de la Plata, and Argentina de Ayer y Hoy, by Ricardo Levene.

Enrique de Gandia has opportunely published a *Historia del Gran Chaco* (Juan Roldán, Buenos Aires).

Sr. Orestes Ferrara, Cuban ambassador to the United States, has recently published *El Panamericanismo y la Opinion Europea* (Paris, Le Livre Libre, 1930).

W. S. R.

Contributions to the section of Historical News have been made by: Randolph G. Adams, the Williams L. Clements Library, Arthur I. Andrews, Cambridge, Massachusetts, G. C. Boyce, Princeton University, E. C. Burnett, Division of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution of Washington, C. L. Chandler, Philadelphia, I. J. Cox, Northwestern University, E. N. Curtis, Goucher College, H. N. Fowler, the Library of Congress, J. F. Jameson, the Library of Congress, L. M. Larson, the University of Illinois, W. G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies, D. B. Macdonald, Hartford Theological Seminary, D. C. Munro, Princeton University, W. S. Robertson, the University of Illinois, and C. F. Thwing, Western Reserve University.

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The Association—This association, founded in 1884 by a small group of historical scholars, was chartered by Congress in 1889. Its principal office is in Washington; its annual reports are published by the United States government through the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. The membership of the Association, at present about 3400, is drawn from every state in the Union as well as from Canada and South America. To all who desire to promote the development of history, local, national, or general, and to all who believe that a correct knowledge of the past is essential to a right understanding of the present, the Association makes a strong appeal through its publications and other activities.

Meetings—The annual meetings of the Association are held during the last week in December in cities so chosen as to accommodate in turn the members living in different parts of the country; the average attendance is about five hundred. The meetings afford an opportunity for members to become personally acquainted and to discuss matters in which they have a common interest.

Publications—The regular publications of the Association are the *Annual Report* and the *American Historical Review*. The *Report*, usually in two volumes, is distributed free to all members who request it. It contains the proceedings of the Association, valuable collections of documents edited by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, reports on American archives prepared by the Public Archives Commission, bibliographical contributions, and reports on history teaching, on the activities of historical societies.

The *American Historical Review* is published quarterly; each number contains about 225 pages. It contains authoritative articles; critical reviews of important new works on history; groups of inedited documents; and news of activities in the field of history. The *Review*, indispensable to all who wish to keep abreast of the progress of historical scholarship, is of interest to the general reader. It is sent to all members of the Association. The Association has an advisory relationship with the *Historical Outlook*, that valuable organ of those engaged in teaching history and the social studies.

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Relations with State and Local Historical Societies—The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through a conference each year in connection with the annual meeting of the Association. The proceedings of the conference are printed in the *Annual Report* of the Association.

Pacific Coast Branch—The Pacific Coast Branch, organized in 1904, affords an opportunity for the members living in the Far West to have meetings (held in the month of November in various cities of the Pacific Coast) and an organization of their own while retaining full membership in the parent body.

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